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‘Foreign’ Books for English Readers

Published Translations of Navigation Manuals and their Audience in the English
Renaissance, 1500-1640

by

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the research presented in this thesis is entirely my own. All sources have been acknowledged, including the use of bibliographical databases in electronic form.

Neither this thesis nor any of its component sections have been published. This work has not been submitted or presented in any previous application for a degree or award at a different institution.

SUMMARY

Although there has been an increasing interest in the study of Renaissance translations and the early world of print, the history of navigation and exploration has not been the subject of any such in-depth bibliographical research. This thesis identifies and analyses a corpus of translated navigation manuals and related works that were printed in England between 1500 and 1640.

The context is sketched by defining the different areas of maritime writing found in Renaissance England. Although English contributions were particularly strong in such topics as the mathematical side of navigation, the technical instruments and the debates about magnetism and compass variation, publications of manuals and sailing directions were scarce. This thesis reveals that such knowledge was imported from continental Europe through translation. Forty-three translations out of seven different source languages are discussed from a book-historical perspective to establish what their source text was, how they came to England and who was responsible for translating and publishing them.

Such information was obtained, in part, from a study of the paratexts, in particular the translators' and publishers' dedications and addresses to the reader, which show the reason and purpose of the translations, the methods employed and particular problems encountered, as well certain linguistic and rhetorical characteristics. One work is selected as a case-study for in-depth research, namely Martín Cortés's *Breve compendio de la esfera y de la arte de nauegar* (1551) and its translation by Richard Eden, *The Arte of Navigation* (1561), which went through ten editions and became the model for English navigation manuals.

Finally, by turning to the agents involved in the production and dissemination of these translations, particularly the printers and booksellers, and establishing the connections between them, this thesis reveals intricate social networks and sheds new light on certain aspects of the fields of navigation, translation and print.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BL	British Library, London
BOD	Bodleian Library, Oxford
EEBO	Early English Books Online
EIC	East India Company
ESTC	<i>The English Short Title Catalogue</i>
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
RCC	<i>Renaissance Cultural Crossroads: An Analytical and Annotated Catalogue of Translations, 1473-1640</i>
StA	St Andrews University Library, St Andrews
STC	<i>A Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640</i> (2nd ed.)
STCN	<i>Short Title Catalogue Netherlands</i>
VOC	Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie

INTRODUCTION

In this thesis I propose to examine the impact of a body of translations on the field of English navigation in the years 1500 to 1640. Given the tremendous international importance of translation in the Renaissance generally, as well as an increasing interest in translation in early modern England, there is an abundance of possible avenues to explore. However, few studies focus on the dissemination of translations, the agents involved in their production and the readership of such texts in this period of England's history, in short, the three aspects on which I intend to focus. Moreover, of the many areas or disciplines in which translation played a very important role, one has provided a rich terrain in which to explore these particular issues because it has never been the subject as such of any study, namely the history of navigation and its related field, the voyages of discovery and exploration. Although navigation falls within the general topic of scientific translation, it has not been singled out for any in-depth discussion. Isabelle Pantin, for example, mentions it in her study of scientific exchanges, but very briefly, mentioning simply works on cartography, navigational instruments and guides for navigation, and these only in the context of early seventeenth-century Dutch printing.¹ Certainly, no such study exists for early modern England.

Within the field of navigation, manuals in particular occupy a central position. In choosing these works by applying the sole criterion of their being translations, and not limiting myself to one particular source language, I have established a new corpus. Researching it will thus make a significant contribution to the field. At the same time, by focusing on all the agents involved, I intend to discover new social networks that

¹ Pantin, 165–166.

will range from everyone involved in the book production to merchant companies, the Royal Navy and members of the aristocracy. It is my purpose to bring together these diverse threads that were previously studied separately and analyse the ways in which they intersect when it comes to these translations. My thesis will therefore be interdisciplinary, drawing on various fields of knowledge such as translation studies, book and print history, naval history and history of science.

The agents involved in the circulation of translated navigational texts form a heterogeneous group: they include not only translators, as well as printers, publishers and booksellers, but also patrons and dedicatees. These three subgroups are most often regarded separately, which leaves the question of social networks wide open. What exactly was the relation between all of these? Was there, for example, cooperation between specific printers and sellers? Or between specific printers and translators? Or dedicatees and printers? If so, is it this due to the language(s) involved? For example, is there a concentration of translations from any specific language with a particular publisher/printer? Do most translators only work from one source language? Is there a clear connection between translator and publisher/printer? When applicable, who were these books dedicated to? Did dedicatees perhaps help finance the production?

Questions such as these lead to the matter of the intended audience. One needs to determine the readership targeted by the translator and identify any links between specific translators and patrons and between printers and the London merchant communities. Since economic success depended for a large part on steady import and export, up-to-date information on navigation would be a way to gain the upper hand over local or foreign competitors, which is why it could be profitable in some cases to

delay publication in order to keep it a business secret. Whether they did so is something worth considering.

As we shall see, answers to some of the above questions may be found in the paratexts. These can reveal the reason for choosing a particular source text or dedicatee, explain the translating methods used, or tell us about the identity of the author as well as of the translator, for example. Moreover, aside from providing valuable information, they are also worth examining as texts in their own right. Questions concerning their purpose will be discussed, as well as the nature of their appeal to the reader, their influence on the way in which the book is read and their exploitation of rhetorical strategies, which they might well have tailored to suit a particular audience.

Navigation manuals and accounts of voyages of discovery and exploration have been the topic of many a scholarly publication. They of course feature as source material in works on maritime history and the history of exploration, and as a result also the history of expansion and early colonialism. Much has been published on Renaissance travel literature, a wide topic that covers a multitude of aspects. We find such broad yet useful overviews in, for example, Antoni Maczak's *Travel in Early Modern Europe*, Boies Penrose's *Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance, 1420-1620* and, more recently, the writings of Joan-Pau Rubiés, most notably in his *Travellers and Cosmographers: Studies in the History of Early Modern Travel and Ethnology*. The strong and influential link between travel and literature is explored by Percy Guy

Adams, Robert Ralston Cawley and Andrew Hadfield.² On the other hand, Mary Baine Campbell and Jonathan P. A. Sell have investigated the way that travel impacted on and expanded European thinking.³

The way in which travel affects the political and economical context of the time has also been discussed by many authors. Specifically in the case of England, the topic has been explored in relation to trade and early empire building. This is the focus, for example, of Kenneth R. Andrews's *Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480-1630*, and D. M. Loades's many writings.⁴ Two other works concentrate on travel and foreign trade, T. S. Willan's *Studies in Elizabethan Foreign Trade*, and John Parker's *Merchants & Scholars: Essays in the History of Exploration and Trade*. M. Oppenheim discusses the role of merchant shipping in early English trading adventures, while Richard Bruce Wernham related travel and trade to foreign policy.⁵ In none of these works, however, the role of translation has been a prime concern,

If we narrow the broad topic of Renaissance travel to the more practical and technical aspects of navigation, several publications are of particular interest. Invaluable for its level of technical detail is David Watkin Waters's *The Art of Navigation in England in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Times*, which is followed by

² Adams, *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel*; Cawley, *Unpathed Waters: Studies in the Influence of the Voyagers on Elizabethan Literature*; Hadfield, *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance, 1545-1625*.

³ Campbell, *Wonder & Science: Imagining Worlds in Early Modern Europe*; Sell, *Rhetoric and Wonder in English Travel Writing, 1560-1613*.

⁴ See especially his *England's Maritime Empire: Seapower, Commerce and Policy, 1490-1690*.

⁵ Oppenheim, *A History of the Administration of the Royal Navy and of Merchant Shipping in Relation to the Navy from 1509 to 1660*; Wernham, *Before the Armada: the Growth of English Foreign Policy, 1485-1588*, and its companion, *After the Armada: Elizabethan England and the Struggle for Western Europe, 1588-1595*.

further articles on similar topics.⁶ In a similar vein, we find John W. Shirley's 'Science and navigation in Renaissance England' in his volume of essays entitled *Science and the Arts in the Renaissance*. Again, however, none of these deal specifically with translated texts. Closely related scientific topics such as cartography, mathematics and geography are discussed by W. G. L. Randles, Mordechai Feingold, Lesley B. Cormack, and, finally, in the many works of Eva Germaine Rimington Taylor, especially *Tudor Geography, 1485-1583*, its companion *Late Tudor and Stuart Geography, 1583-1650*, and *The Mathematical Practitioners of Tudor and Stuart England*.⁷ These more 'general' publications are of course supplemented and expanded by various other studies dealing with specific people, places, periods, and titles.

Highly relevant to our thesis is Thomas R. Adams's and David W. Water's *English Maritime Books Printed Before 1801*, which appeared in 1995, though it has a broad scope, both thematically and chronologically. In 1992, three years before this bibliography was published, Adams wrote an article entitled 'The Beginnings of Maritime Publishing in England, 1528-1640'. The first footnote of this text reads as follows: 'This essay is adapted from part of the Introduction to a work in progress, which lists 133 titles in 296 editions, by D. W. Waters and T. R. Adams, *Early English Navigation Books, 1525-1640: A Critical Bibliography*'.⁸ It then talks about another work in progress, *English Maritime Books, 1528-1800, a Bibliographical List*, which is clearly an earlier title of what has become the bibliography we now know as *English Maritime Books Printed Before 1801*. However, of the first work in progress, no trace

⁶ See especially his 'Science and the Techniques of Navigation in the Renaissance' in Charles S. Singleton's *Art, Science and History in the Renaissance*.

⁷ Randles, *Geography, Cartography and Nautical Science in the Renaissance: The Impact of the Great Discoveries*; Feingold, *The Mathematicians' Apprenticeship: Science, Universities and Society in England, 1560-1640*; Cormack, *Charting an Empire: Geography at the English Universities, 1580-1620*.

⁸ Adams, 'The Beginnings of Maritime Publishing', 207.

has been found. After having carefully checked both Adams's and Waters's other publications and searched, by keywords and title words, I have found no work with that title or any similar phrasing, which leads me to the conclusion that, for whatever reason, it never appeared in print.

Indeed, Adams's footnote is the only specific indication I have come across of this planned endeavour. True, another remark is that made by John Parker in his 1965 *Books to Build an Empire: A Bibliographical History of English Overseas Interests to 1620*. In the preface we read: 'I have deliberately omitted works on the science of navigation and closely related subjects, since Commander David Waters is preparing a book dealing specifically in those areas'.⁹ However, which book Parker means exactly is unclear since he remains so vague. It definitely is not Waters's *The Art of Navigation* since that was published in 1958, seven years before Parker's work, and indeed is mentioned in his list of secondary sources. There is a large gap in time between Parker's remark in 1965 and Adams's footnote penned in 1992. It might refer to this planned *Early English Navigation Books*, but could just as easily refer to the planned bibliography *English Maritime Books*. Whatever the answer to this particular mystery is, the fact remains that Waters's and Adams's *Early English Navigation Books, 1525-1640: A Critical Bibliography* has never seen the light of day and that this, in turn, means that we are still without a clear and fully detailed list of all the navigational works published in England before 1641.

The challenge presented in this thesis is to assess the ways in which navigation is linked to translation in early modern England, but in order to meet this challenge, we

⁹ Parker, vii.

need first to mention some of the works published in the field of English Renaissance translation. As stated above, interest in translation has been increasing dramatically in recent years. Older works like F. O. Matthiessen's *Translation: An Elizabethan Art*, published in 1931, and Flora Ross Amos's *Early Theories of Translation* of 1920 can still be useful, but they in no way reflect present scholarly attitudes towards the theory and practice of translation. The same is true for three works on the Classics in English translation by C. H. Conley, Henry Burrowes Lathrop and Henrietta R. Palmer.¹⁰ Concerning translations from Italian, Mary Augusta Scott's *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian*, dating from 1916, has just been re-issued. Nevertheless, Soko Tomita's *A Bibliographical Catalogue of Italian Books Printed in England 1558-1603*, published in 2009, has largely supplanted it, while many studies of translations of the Classics have appeared in article form, some stressing the relationship between translations and reception theory, for example, and Liz Oakley-Brown's *Ovid and the Cultural Politics of Translation in Early Modern England*, has made us rethink the whole subject of how and why Renaissance translators turned to 'englishing' Classical authors.

It is true to say that the vast majority of studies of English Renaissance translation focus on literature. Three such general works are *The Encyclopedia of Literary Translation into English*, edited by Olive Classe, *The Oxford Guide to Literature in English Translation*, edited by Peter France, and especially *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English*, volumes 1 (to 1550) and 2 (1550–1660). This last publication actually adopts a relatively broad definition of literature as it also

¹⁰ Conley, *The First English Translators of the Classics*; Lathrop, *Translations from the Classics into English from Caxton to Chapman, 1477-1620*; Palmer, *A List of English Editions and Translations of Greek and Latin Classics Printed before 1641*.

covers sections on the Bible, history and politics, as well as moral, philosophical and devotional prose. Navigation falls well outside of any such scope, however, being of a much more practical and pragmatic nature. One work, Massimiliano Morini's *Tudor Translation in Theory and Practice*, attempts to provide an analysis of translation theory in the second half of the sixteenth century and concentrates on some French and Italian authors to demonstrate how theory was put into practice. Literary translation studies with a more specific focus, like those on biblical translation, are legion and since the subject falls outside the scope of this thesis we cannot do more than direct attention to their existence.

There are few works that link travel, exploration and navigation to the topic of translation in the context of the English Renaissance. Mike Pincombe's volume of essays, *Travels and Translations in the Sixteenth Century*, attempts to establish the links between travel and translation. The introduction by Arthur F. Kinney points to the similar actual and metaphorical meanings of both words, but the book itself is tellingly divided into two parts, the first concerning travels and the second translations. The great majority of the texts discussed are not in fact translations and the word 'translation' is understood in its broadest sense. The linking of travel and translation is more successful in another volume of essays in which ten of the sixteen chapters concern England and English translators. In *Travel and Translation in the Early Modern Period*, the editor in his introduction, together with several of the contributors, point to similarities between the activities of translating and travelling, which both involve relocation, while translations and travel accounts both raise questions of veracity. Several writers have discussed the intertwined roles of traveller and translator in a modern context, most notably Michael Cronin in *Across the Lines: Travel*,

Language and Translation. Loredana Polezzi has discussed the problems of translation travel writing in her *Translating Travel: Contemporary Italian Travel Writing in English Translation*, while Roxanne Leslie Euben has a section on travel and translation in her *Journeys to the Other Shore: Muslim and Western Travelers in Search of Knowledge* in which she, too, discusses the fact that the act of travel is in itself a kind of translation. Interesting as all these issues are, however, they do not represent the type of investigation that I propose in this thesis.

If we step away from ‘literature’ and works of a religious nature to turn to the practical field of navigation and exploration, it soon becomes clear that a whole new area of translation in the English Renaissance is waiting to be researched; it is this gap which the present thesis seeks to fill. Since this is a new field of study, however, we first needed to establish a corpus of texts. This was done in a two-stage manner: the first entailed methodically going through the database of the new online *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads: An Analytical and Annotated Catalogue of Translations, 1473-1640* and retaining all the titles that could possibly belong in the corpus; the second consisted in reading the relevant secondary literature about navigation, travel and exploration and cross-referencing all the names of historical figures mentioned there with the *English Short Title Catalogue* to determine whether they were connected to a publication and, if so, whether that was a translation or not.¹¹ The corpus was established by compiling the results of this preliminary research.

¹¹ The Leverhulme-funded RCC catalogue was the work of a research team led by Prof. Brenda M. Hosington with the assistance of Dr. Demmy R. Verbeke (2 years), Dr. Sara K. Barker (1 year), and myself. All graphs and figures in aid of our interpretation of data drawn from the RCC catalogue and other relevant sources are of my own design and making.

Once established, this corpus was analysed according to a carefully selected criterion. In order to put our corpus analysis on a sound basis we have primarily adopted a quantitative approach. An analysis of language, style or translating method may be desirable for close considerations of individual texts, but would prove impractical and might indeed lead to unreliable conclusions for a corpus as large as ours, and involving no less than seven source languages. We hope that the bibliographical approach adopted here may provide a sound basis for further, detailed studies.

Before turning to an examination of the corpus, our first chapter establishes the context in which these translations were produced, exploring what was written in English on navigation and related topics and printed between 1500 and 1640. Once the context clearly delineated, I proceed in Chapter Two to describe and evaluate all the items found in our corpus, using the *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England [...] 1473-1640*, its updated web version, the *English Short Title Catalogue*, as well as the information provided by the *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads* database as a starting point and complementing it with relevant criticism for individual texts. The discussion of the items covers several points. The first concerns the reasons why these works were translated and to what extent they made up for a possible lack of English writings on the subject. Did these translations supplement or update any available knowledge in England? The second is of a similar but more specific nature. What determined the choice of navigational text for translation? Was the resulting translation popular and often reprinted? The third point pertains to the importance of such translations in the rapidly evolving culture of trade, expansion and discovery. Finally, it

is important to know in what language and country the source text was published and how it reached England.

After discussing the corpus and its various items in general terms in the first two chapters, the third one focuses on one area of the translated works in particular, namely their paratexts. These liminary materials, especially the dedications and addresses to the reader, are researched for the insights they provide into how and why the translation came about, the bridge they form between the source text and target text, and their use of rhetorical strategies to advertise and present the text to its dedicatee as well as to a wider English audience. Building, then, on these insights, we offer in our fourth chapter a detailed case-study of one seminal text, namely Martin Cortés's *Breue compendio de la sphaera y de la arte de nauegar* (1551). This work was translated by Richard Eden as *The Arte of Navigation* (1561) and went through an impressive total of ten editions in the period discussed here, making it by far the most important text of our corpus.

Finally, the fifth chapter returns to a more comprehensive viewpoint in order to explore the intricate social networks surrounding this corpus of translations. These consist of the printers, publishers, booksellers, translators, dedicatees and similar agents involved in the production and dissemination of translations. Combining the knowledge gained from mapping these social networks that underpin our navigational texts with that revealed by our discussion of the selected works and their context, and our analysis of the paratexts, not only provides an important new perspective on the translations into English of navigation manuals, but also, in a wider context, contributes to what we know of the translation enterprise in Renaissance England.

CHAPTER 1

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS AND PRINT CONTEXT

1. ‘English Maritime Books’

The translations of foreign-language maritime works which are the subject of this thesis did not exist in a vacuum. Works written in English on a variety of topics related to navigation were printed between 1500 and 1640 and it is important, before turning to the translations to examine the context in which they appeared. At the outset it seems worthwhile to attempt to define more closely what is involved in a study of English maritime texts. I will take my lead from the bibliography compiled by Thomas R. Adams and David W. Waters, entitled *English Maritime Books Printed Before 1801 Relating to Ships, Their Construction and Their Operation at Sea*, which appeared in 1995 and attempted to subdivide its texts according to topic. Adams and Waters have divided the concept of maritime books into twenty-four categories or ‘topics’, which, though their net is cast much wider than mine, provide a handy starting point, the results of which are set out in the table below (fig. 1). Two, ‘Signaling and Tactics: Colors, Sailing, Fighting, Convoying Instructions’ and ‘Weather’, may be discarded from the outset, since they do not contain any items that were published before 1641. The remaining twenty-two topics count 428 items printed before 1641 but some works are listed under more than one heading. When eliminating these duplicate entries, 309 items are left.

Navigation – Manuals and Instruction	18
Instruments: Astrolabes, Cross Staffs, Backstaffs, Quadrants, etc; Chronometers, Compasses, Logs, Globes, Barometers	14.5
Navigation – Mathematics and Astronomy	13
Sailing Directions and Sea Atlases: Rutters, Waggoners, Pilot Books	12
Almanacs	8
Tables	6
Magnetism	5
Charts: Construction and Use, Plane (Plain), Mercator, Planispheres, Hydrographic Surveying	3.5
Tides and Currents: Tide-tables, Tidal Streams, Ocean Currents	3
Longitude	3
Latitude	2
Dictionaries and Bibliographies	2
Education: Marine Academies, Marine Societies	2
Aids to Coastal Navigation: Buoys, Beacons, Coastal Lights, and Pilotage	2
Law and Regulations: Admiralty, Customs, Privateers	2
Seamanship	1
Manning and Morale	1
Shipbuilding: Sheathing, Coppering, Mastng, Sparring, Rigging	0.5
Health at Sea: Lifesaving, Quarantine, Scurvy, Surgery, Ventilation, Water Distillation	0.5
Gunnery	0.5
Lists – Officers	<0.5
Lists – Ships	<0.5
Weather	0
Signaling and Tactics: Colors, Sailing, Fighting, Convoying Instructions	0

Fig. 1: Topics found in *English Maritime Books*

In order to present a fairly representative view, I have taken into account both the number of items and the number of titles as there can be a sharp difference between these two. For example, there is a large number of almanacs but only about a fifth of these are unique titles, with the remaining 80% being new editions or reprints of those titles. Therefore, I have taken a weighted average of both, expressed in percentages, to show the relative share of each topic. Encompassing just under a fifth of the whole, ‘Navigation – Manuals and Instruction’ constitutes the largest topic. It is followed fairly closely by ‘Instruments’, ‘Navigation – Mathematics and Astronomy’ and ‘Sailing Directions and Sea Atlases’ respectively. Trailing a little behind those are ‘Almanacs’, ‘Tables’ and ‘Magnetism’. The remaining fifteen topics only cover a few items/titles each.

As useful as these topics might be, they are not fixed in any way whatsoever. The majority of items fit under multiple headings. For example, John Tapp’s *The seamans kalender*, can be found under ‘Almanacs’, ‘Navigation – Manuals and Instruction’ as well as ‘Sailing Directions and Sea Atlases’. Indeed, it is often impossible and pointless to try and force an item under one topic only, or to look at a topic by itself when it is so closely linked to others. To prove my point, items found under the topic that is most relevant to our present purposes, ‘Navigation – Manuals and Instruction’, are connected to one or more of the following seven topics: ‘Almanacs’, ‘Charts’, ‘Longitude’, ‘Magnetism’, ‘Navigation – Mathematics and Astronomy’, ‘Sailing Directions and Sea Atlases’ and ‘Tides and Currents’. I shall therefore use the term ‘navigation manual’ in as broad a sense as possible, thereby allowing it to cover a multitude of related topics rather than attempting to restrict it on unstable grounds.

Significantly, Adams and Waters also chose not to define these topics further. They talk about ‘the extensive and vaguely defined body of writing that makes up maritime history’, which is subsequently narrowed down somewhat to ‘maritime books in English during the age of sail’.¹² They do admit that the topic ‘Navigation – Mathematics and Astronomy’ is a ‘category the boundries [sic] of which are fuzzy’ since ‘there is no firm dividing line between works that have an obvious maritime application and those in which it is incidental’.¹³ This is as far as they go, however, and it is a great pity that, beyond a handful of remarks on the scope, time span and bibliographic details, this book remains ‘just’ a bibliography.

Whereas Adams and Waters simply define ‘English Maritime Books’ as books in the English language, I would like to make an important distinction between books originally written in English and those that were *translated* into English. If we consider the first two topics, for instance, we notice a marked difference between them. Although each group covers a similar amount of unique titles, only 7% of those found under ‘Instruments’ are translations, whereas for ‘Navigation – Manuals and Instruction’ this rises to well over a third, namely 37.5%. This implies that, although the English were adept at, and up-to-speed with, certain areas of maritime writing, there remained a gap in this elusive category of ‘navigation manuals’, which they filled by translating works out of other languages and countries. What they chose to translate, why, how and other such questions, will be discussed in detail further on in this thesis. First, however, it is necessary to establish what materials were already available, in

¹² Adams & Waters, *English Maritime Books*, ix-x.

¹³ Adams & Waters, *English Maritime Books*, xii.

terms of navigation manuals originally written in English, in order to establish the context that was already in place.

2. Original Contributions

2.1. Navigation – Manuals and Instruction

William Bourne is the first English author in the emerging genre of navigation manuals and also, according to E. G. R. Taylor, ‘the earliest “unlearned” (i.e. non-academic) English instructor and writer on mathematical practice known to us’.¹⁴ Born and raised in the thriving Thames port of Gravesend, Bourne educated himself through daily contact with seamen, reading, and experience as a volunteer gunner.¹⁵ He followed the Spanish example of Martín Cortés, who in 1551 published *Breve compendio de la sphaera y de la arte de nauegar*. Bourne’s first work on this topic, of which no extant copy could be found, offered rules on navigation and must have appeared around 1567, judging from a later title [STC 417]. This, in turn, formed the basis of his influential *A regiment for the sea* [STC 3422], which first appeared in 1574 and quickly went through another ten editions and reprints [STC 3423-3431], testifying to the great demand for it. From 1580 onwards, ‘a hidrographicall discourse to goe vnto Cattay’ was added [STC 3425] and, as of 1592, the regiment was further edited by Thomas Hood. Two further, if somewhat hesitant, attempts at producing manuals were made shortly after Bourne’s *Regiment*. The first was an addition to Leonard Digges’s 1576 *A*

¹⁴ Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners*, 176.

¹⁵ Turner, ‘Bourne, William’, *ODNB*.

prognostication everlastinge [STC 435.47] by his son, Thomas. The main work itself is an almanac, but the addition falls under the heading of navigation manuals. In it, Thomas explained the Copernican system, in part through a translation of a section of the first book of *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium* (Nürnberg: Johann Petreius, 1543), and discussed the variation of the compass.¹⁶ This made him, as Johnston claims, ‘the first English author publicly to declare his support for Copernicus’s cosmological scheme’.¹⁷ Last but not least, he pointed out a number of common errors that were being committed by English navigators. The second navigation-related work of 1576 (printed in 1577) was by the mathematician and astrologer John Dee, entitled *General and rare memorials pertayning to the perfect arte of nauigation* [STC 6459]. Although perhaps more of a mathematical work of navigation than an actual manual, it does contain practical advice, charts, and discussion on the need for a Royal Navy, as well as the first use of the term ‘British Empire’.¹⁸ In 1578, we find another work by Bourne, namely *A booke called the treasure for traueilers, [...] contaynyng very necessary matters, for all sortes of trauailers, eyther by sea or by lande* [STC 3432], which contained information on making measurements as well as on the tides and currents.

A good decade elapsed before another work originally written in English appeared in this category. The text in question is Hood’s 1592 *The marriners guide* [pt. 2 of STC 3427 ff.]. It formed, in fact, an addition to Bourne’s *Regiment* rather than being published as a stand-alone book. Two years later, taking matters to a very

¹⁶ Compass variation refers to the difference between magnetic north and true north, named magnetic variation or magnetic declination and caused severe difficulties in establishing longitude at the time. Such errors began to be recognised by navigators and compass-makers in the fifteenth century. See Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, 24-25.

¹⁷ Johnston, ‘Digges, Thomas’, *ODNB*.

¹⁸ Roberts, ‘Dee, John’, *ODNB*; Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, 210 n. 1.

practical level, the Norfolk-based author Thomas Blundeville published his popular *M. Blundeville his Exercises*, which counted eight editions and reprints between 1594 and 1638 [STC 3146-3151a.5]. This work was composed of six treatises (later expanded to eight) designed to educate young gentlemen on elements of cosmology, arithmetic, geography and navigation, as well as the use of maps, globes and other navigational instruments.¹⁹ The educational character of this publication probably stemmed from Blundeville having been a tutor of mathematics in the household of, amongst others, Sir Nicholas Bacon; the contents from his friendship with such mathematicians as John Dee, Edward Wright, Henry Briggs and William Gilbert.²⁰ Finally, it is worth mentioning the mathematician Thomas Hariot's 'Instructions for Raleigh's voyage' of 1595. It eludes the boundaries of this category on two counts, first, because it is a manuscript rather than a printed text; secondly and more importantly, it has a specific voyage in mind. Nevertheless, 'Instructions for Raleigh's voyage' aimed to provide and summarise general advice for the navigators who were about to embark on this epic voyage to the New World with Raleigh. That same year also saw the publication of John Davis's *The Seamans Secrets*, which appeared in five editions and reprints between 1595 and 1636 [STC 6368.4-6371]. Davis had a very successful maritime career and was recognised by both his contemporaries and modern historians as 'perhaps the finest navigator of his day'.²¹ By the time this book was published, he had already completed three Arctic voyages, which resulted in new discoveries though no treasure.²² *The Seamans Secrets* is therefore a work on practical navigation, written

¹⁹ Beverley, 'Blundeville, Thomas', *ODNB*; Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners*, 331.

²⁰ Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners*, 173.

²¹ Andrews, *Drake's Voyages*, 154.

²² Hicks, 'Davis [Davys], John', *ODNB*.

from experience, that included instructions on how to keep a sea journal as well as the use of several instruments, such as the backstaff, which Davis designed himself based on an idea by Thomas Hariot.²³ Richard Polter's *The pathway to perfect sayling* only followed ten years later in 1605 [STC 20093]. Since Polter was a master mariner, hydrographer, Master of Trinity House (from 1599) and at the time of this publication also one of the Masters of the King's Ships, this, too, was a textbook written from experience, dealing with such topics as charts, the compass, tide, time and wind.²⁴ Finally, after a sizeable time gap, two more manuals appeared, with equally self-explanatory titles. The first is Charles Saltonstall's *The navigator, shewing and explaining all the chiefe principles of navigation* of 1636 [STC 21640], which is another work based on first-hand experience. Saltonstall was a naval officer, as well as the captain and owner of a merchant ship, and had spent time in the Caribbean serving with the Dutch West India Company.²⁵ At the time of this textbook's publication, he was living in London as a teacher of navigation.²⁶ The second and final manual appeared one year later, in 1637, and was entitled *The sea-mans practice, containing a fundamentall probleme in navigation, experimentally verified* [STC 18691]. The author, Richard Norwood, was a self-taught mathematician renowned for his accuracy and expertise in a multitude of pursuits. Suffering from seasickness, he twice abandoned on-board apprenticeships and reverted to studying and teaching navigation, first in London and later in Bermuda, where he was involved in the exploitation of oyster beds for pearls (thanks to his expertise in diving), the growing of olive trees for

²³ Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners*, 178 and 332.

²⁴ Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners*, 180 and 338.

²⁵ Le Fevre, 'Saltonstall, Charles', *ODNB*.

²⁶ Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners*, 211 and 353.

oil and surveying the land.²⁷ His *The sea-mans practice* corrected many calculations used by navigators and saw reprints until well into the eighteenth century.²⁸

2.2. Sailing Directions and Sea Atlases / Voyages

The category of ‘Sailing Directions and Sea Atlases’ inevitably shows significant overlaps with that of navigation manuals; yet, at the same time is also sufficiently distinct in character so as to merit its own heading. There are a few almanacs and calendars to be found here because they contain a section or an addition that concerns sailing directions, but I shall not focus on them as they are, and remain, almanacs first and foremost. What does, however, manifestly belong here is a work on hydrography that was published by John Davis in 1595, the same year as his aforementioned *Seamans Secrets*, and is entitled *The worldes hydrographical description* [STC 6372]. In describing and assessing navigable passages, Davis followed the example of French-born Jean Rotz, who had moved from Paris to London in 1542 and presented his ‘Booke of idrography’²⁹ — according to Helen Wallis ‘one of the greatest maritime atlases of the Renaissance’ — to Henry VIII and was appointed royal hydrographer that same year.³⁰ Aside from Davis’s work on hydrography, those almanacs and a few works that are also navigation manuals (the overlap I mentioned), this category really only contains works that deal with specific voyages and it is in this area that the boundaries become very fluid indeed. Adams and Waters only list a handful of such items and the

²⁷ Bendall, ‘Norwood, Richard’, *ODNB*.

²⁸ Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners*, 202 and 353.

²⁹ BL, Royal MS 20E ix.

³⁰ Wallis, ‘Rotz, Jean’, *ODNB*; Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners*, 169-170 and 313.

reasons or criteria for their choice remain unclear. I have, however, identified a further six relevant titles, which will help us understand the particular concerns with which sea-farers were occupied in sixteenth-century England.

The two main names to retain are, of course, those of the collectors Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas. The former was among the first to start gathering various documents relating to the discoveries in the New World and his *Divers voyages* [STC 12624], published in 1582, does exactly that. A much more expansive work is his well-known *The Principal Navigations* [STC 12625, 12626, 12626a], which appeared between 1589 and 1600 and is not limited simply to the New World but is wider in scope. Following in Hakluyt's wake is Samuel Purchas, whose *Purchas his pilgrimage* of 1613 [STC 20505-20508.5] and *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his pilgrimes* of 1625 [STC 20509] also anthologised various works and extracts on the topic of navigation and voyages.

Interestingly, if unsurprisingly, there emerges a noticeable cluster of texts about Virginia, the first permanent English settlement in the New World, which started with the Roanoke Colony in 1584.³¹ These start with Sir George Peckham's *A true reporte, of the late discoveries, of the Newfound Landes* (1583) [STC 19523], discussing the actions of explorer and soldier Sir Humphrey Gilbert. An advocate of English settlement of (north-eastern) America, Gilbert obtained a patent from Elizabeth I that allowed him to seize and colonise all lands that were not already possessed by a Christian Prince; it started in 1578 and was valid for six years. The Newfoundland area was his chief goal but the colonisation proved unsuccessful and Gilbert drowned in a

³¹ Penrose, 232-234.

shipwreck on the return voyage.³² Though originally supported by such influential people like John Dee, Richard Hakluyt, Sir Philip Sidney and a group of Catholic investors led by Peckham, Gilbert's death and Spanish pressure brought this project to a standstill. By publishing *A true reporte*, Peckham hoped to secure further interest and investment by outlining all the reasons and arguments in favour of English colonisation in that part of America but he did not succeed in this.³³ New initiatives for colonisation, this time further down along the eastern coast, in the area named 'Virginia', were undertaken by Gilbert's half-brother, the explorer Sir Walter Raleigh. Commenting on Raleigh's voyage was the colonist and painter John White, who was later appointed by Raleigh as governor of the Virginia Colony and whose granddaughter, Virginia Dare, was 'the first child born to English parents in America'.³⁴ His 'The pictures of soundry things collected and counterfeited according to the truth in the voyage [...] for the discovery of La Virginea', written in 1585, beautifully illustrates Raleigh's explorations. Although this work is in manuscript, and therefore technically lies outside my corpus of printed materials, White's drawings were later copied as copper engravings by the Liège-born engraver Theodore de Bry (Dirk de Brij) for use in the illustrated version of Thomas Hariot's *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia*, which appeared in 1590 [STC 12786].³⁵ In 1602, the sea-captains Bartholomew Gosnold and Bartholomew Gilbert sailed to the northern part of Virginia without Raleigh's authorisation, even though he had a monopoly on English trade with that part of America.³⁶ Part of the deal they struck on the captains' return was that there

³² Rapple, 'Gilbert, Sir Humphrey', *ODNB*; Penrose, 232-233.

³³ McDermott, 'Peckham, Sir George', *ODNB*.

³⁴ Tiro, 'White, John', *ODNB*; Penrose, 234.

³⁵ Mancall, 204; Radford, 'Bry, Theodore de [Dirk de Brij]', *ODNB*.

³⁶ Ransome, 'Gosnold, Bartholomew', *ODNB*; Baigent, 'Brereton, John', *ODNB*.

would be a publication on this voyage to attract more settlers and advance colonisation. The report selected was that by travel writer John Brereton, which might have been prepared for publication by the mathematician in Raleigh's service, Thomas Hariot, and appeared as *A briefe and true relation of the discoverie of the north part of Virginia* in 1602 [STC 3610 and 3611].³⁷ This brief report contained a short text by sea-captain Edward Hayes, entitled 'A Treatise, conteining important inducements for the planting in these parts, and finding a passage that way to the South sea and China' (STC 3160, B4v-C4r).³⁸ Finally, *The true travels, adventures, and observations of captaine J. Smith, from 1593. to 1629*, published in 1630 [STC 22796], gave an account of the many travels and adventures of John Smith, including those he undertook and experienced in Virginia, where he was elected president of the governing council in August 1608 until his return to England in October 1609. Though largely auto-biographical in nature, part of this work also continues his history of the colony, which he had started in various previous works, most importantly the 1624 publication *The generall historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles* [STC 22790].³⁹

The search for a passage to China, or Cathay, was always uppermost in the minds of the English merchants and navigators. As the South was dominated by either the Spanish or the Portuguese, much money, time, and energy went into finding alternative trade routes to Asia. The English saw two options, using either the northeast or the north-west. Although serious efforts were made to find and explore the Northeast Passage, they did not inspire any writings. It was different for the quest for the

³⁷ Baigent, 'Brereton, John', *ODNB*.

³⁸ Quinn, 'Hayes, Edward', *ODNB*.

³⁹ Morgan, Gwenda, 'Smith, John', *ODNB*.

Northwest Passage.⁴⁰ In 1576, Humphrey Gilbert published *A discourse of a discoverie for a new passage to Cataia* [STC 11881]. This was closely followed by the explorer George Best's *A true discourse of the late voyages of discoverie, for finding a passage to Cathaya, by the Northweast*, which appeared in 1578 [STC 1972]. This book is an account of the three voyages undertaken by Martin Frobisher, though Best did not actually sail with Frobisher yet was a member of his council.⁴¹ The search for Cathay and concerns about navigation were brought together in 1609 in a booklet by Anthony Linton, parson of Worth (Sussex), entitled *Newes of the complement of the art of navigation. And of the mightie Empire of Cataia* [STC 15692].⁴² In this work, he boasted:

That the discoverie of *Cataia* by any supposed Northerne Passage, further then hath bin already discovered, cannot be safely and commodiously attempted, much lesse performed, without the knowledge of this my Complement, and Nauigators of very good skill and practise in the Mathematicques. (D1r-D2v)

This shows that the desired northern passage was still a cause for concern. Despite his claims, however, Linton does not go into any detail as to how exactly he could improve navigation. The quest for a passage to Cathay culminated in two publications by two rivalling explorers.⁴³ The navigator Luke Fox, born in Hull as the son of a seaman, had gained considerable experience at sea by the time he petitioned Charles I for monetary

⁴⁰ For a discussion of the quest for a northwest passage on a European scale, see McGrath, 65-69.

⁴¹ Baldwin, 'Best, George', *ODNB*.

⁴² Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners*, 339-340; *The Principal Works of Simon Stevin*, III, 377.

⁴³ Penrose, 180.

support to discover the Northwest Passage. Backed by several London merchants and captain of the Royal Navy ship *Charles*, Fox set sail on 30 April 1631.⁴⁴ At the same time, though, the Bristol-based Society of Merchant Venturers supported Captain Thomas James in a similar pursuit and his ship left just days later, on 3 May 1631.⁴⁵ Both were hindered by ice and unsuccessful in finding the hoped-for passage but while Fox returned in October, James spent a winter in the Arctic and did not return to Bristol until the following October. Yet, despite this one-year difference, James's account appeared first in 1633 as *The strange and dangerous voyage of Captaine Thomas Iames, in his intended discouery of the Northwest Passage into the South Sea* [STC 14444]. The work also included an appendix dealing with longitude written by the mathematician Henry Gellibrand, whom we will return to in the section on magnetism.⁴⁶ It was only in 1635 that Fox's account, entitled *North-West Fox, or Fox from the North-west passage* [STC 11221] was printed 'by his Majesties command' (title-page). Aside from his own experiences, this work also contained information about earlier attempts of Arctic exploration.⁴⁷

Finally, there remains a work that falls outside the scope of the clusters of navigational works mentioned above, since it concerns itself with voyages to the South and the Pacific, yet definitely belongs in this category. This is the account of the naval officer Sir Richard Hawkins, appropriately entitled *The observations of Sir Richard Hawkins, in his voiage into the south sea. Anno Domini 1593* [STC 12962], written and published some thirty years after the voyage, in 1622. The only son of the merchant

⁴⁴ Coote, 'Fox, Luke', *ODNB*.

⁴⁵ Davies, 'James, Thomas', *ODNB*.

⁴⁶ Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners*, 348.

⁴⁷ Coote, 'Fox, Luke', *ODNB*.

and naval treasurer Sir John Hawkins, Richard gained experience sailing with his father and uncle but set off on his own to South America and the Pacific in 1593.⁴⁸ He was attacked by the Spanish and held captive for a total of eight years, first in Lima, then Seville and Madrid, until he was finally released in 1602.⁴⁹

2.3. Instruments / Charts

The English may have arrived a bit late on the scene where publishing about the use and design of technical and mathematical instruments for navigational purposes is concerned. However, they soon caught up and started not only improving existing inventions, such as for example the astrolabe of Gemma Frisius (Jemme Reinerszoon) and Gerardus Mercator's (Gerard de Kremer) map projection, but also designing their own instruments.⁵⁰

The first English author to discuss such nautical instruments in print was the mathematician and land surveyor John Blagrove, who published various works starting in 1585 with *The mathematical ievvel [...] so called: in that it performeth with wonderfull dexteritie, whatsoeuer is to be done, either by quadrant, ship, circle, cylinder, ring, dyall, horoscope, astrolabe, sphere, globe, or any such like heretofore deuised* [STC 3119], in which he discussed an astrolabe of his own invention, illustrated with woodcuts made by Blagrove himself.⁵¹ The astrolabe was an instrument that had many possible uses, such as calculating the position of the stars, the sun and

⁴⁸ Morgan, Basil, 'Hawkins, Sir John', *ODNB*.

⁴⁹ Loades, 'Hawkins [Hawkyns], Sir Richard', *ODNB*.

⁵⁰ Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, 166 and 295.

⁵¹ Thompson, 'Blagrove, John', *ODNB*; Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners*, 181 and 327; Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, 165-166.

the moon and hence also determining time and latitude. Blagrove's last publication, which appeared in 1609, concerned sundials and was entitled *The art of dyalling in two parts* [STC 3116].⁵² William Barlow, a clergyman with a huge interest in mathematics and its application in navigation and also tutor to Prince Henry of Wales, published a comprehensive work in 1597 entitled *The navigators supply. Containing many things of principall importance belonging to nauigation, with the description and vse of diuerse instruments framed chiefly for that purpose* [STC 1445].⁵³ This book, which discussed Blagrove's 'jewel' as well as a number of other new and improved instruments, was dedicated to the second earl of Essex, Robert Devereux. The use of the 'jewel' had also been included by Blundeville in his *Exercises* (see p. 18). Blundeville himself, however, focused on maps in his 1589 *A briefe description of vniuersal mappes and cardes, and of their vse [...] for traueilers by land or sea* [STC 3145], which was reprinted in the 1597 second edition of the *Exercises* [STC 3147]. Another work by him, *The theoriques of the seuen planets* [STC 3160] from 1602, included an addition entitled *The making, description, and vse, of two most ingenious and necessarie Instruments for Sea-men* [STC 3160], which discussed some of William Gilbert's inventions.⁵⁴ An appendix to this addition was written by Wright, giving the reader a practical explanation of how to use a table devised by Henry Briggs on Gilbert's advice (PP4v-PP4r), showing just how close a network the mathematicians formed.

Celestial globes were described in 1585 by Oxford-based physician Charles Turnbull in *A perfect and easie treatise of the vse of the cœlestiall globe: written aswell*

⁵² Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners*, 339.

⁵³ McConnell, 'Barlow, William', *ODNB*; Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners*, 177 and 334-335, Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, 216-217.

⁵⁴ Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners*, 337.

for [...] as the practise of our countriemen, which bee exercised in the art of nauigation (repr. 1597) [STC 24337-24338]. Though Turnbull had no particular interest in navigation himself but rather in astronomical observation, the use of globes was important for navigators, as indicated in the title quoted above.⁵⁵ Globes were also discussed by the mathematician Thomas Hood and the astronomer Robert Tanner. Hood, a teacher of mathematical navigation, wrote two works concerning them, in 1590 *The vse of the celestial globe in plano, set foorth in two hemispheres* [STC 13697] and two years later *The vse of both the globes, celestiall, and terrestriall* [STC 13698].⁵⁶ Three other instruments of his own design appeared in the 1590 *The vse of the two mathematicall instruments, the crosse staffe, and the Jacobs staffe* (repr.1596) [STC 13699-13701] and the 1598 *The making and vse of the geometricall instrument, called a sector* [STC 13695]. While the Jacob's Staff was meant for surveying land, the Cross-staff was used at sea to determine latitude and Hood presented that part of the work to Charles Howard, then Lord High Admiral, first in manuscript but soon after, because of great demand, in print.⁵⁷ In Hood's work, the sector was also described primarily as a surveying instrument but in itself it was a type of compass that made it easier to solve mathematical problems and could as such be used in aspects of navigation and gunnery. After writing *A mirror for mathematiques [...] for geometricians [...] saylers [...] astronomers and astrologians* [STC 23674-23674.5] in 1587, which described the making and use of an astrolabe, astronomer Robert Tanner discussed the use of the globe in *A briefe treatise for the ready vse of the sphere [...] as well cœlestial as terrestriall* [STC 23671], published in 1592, which was reworked in

⁵⁵ Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners*, 179-180.

⁵⁶ Higton, 'Hood, Thomas', *ODNB*; Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners*, 179 and 330.

⁵⁷ Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners*, 329-330.

1616 as *A brief treatise of the use of the globe celestially and terrestrially* (repr. 1620) [STC 23672-26373].⁵⁸

Works on instruments continued to be published into the early seventeenth century. Arthur Hopton, an almanac maker and instrument designer, published two textbooks, namely *Baculum geodæticum sive viaticum. Or the geodeticall staffe* [STC 13776], published in 1610 with a dedication to Robert Cecil, and a year later *Speculum topographicum: or the topographicall glasse* [STC 13783], dedicated to the Lord Chancellor, Thomas Egerton.⁵⁹ The ‘geodeticall staffe’ could be used for a variety of measurements useful for surveyors, navigators and seamen, while the topographical glass was another type of calculating instrument used for measuring angles.⁶⁰ Edward Wright, in his role as royal tutor to Prince Henry, wrote *The description and use of the sphere* (1613, repr. 1627) [STC 26021-26022], intended to accompany an instrument built specifically for his pupil.⁶¹ The mathematician and astronomy professor Edmund Gunter, a friend and colleague of Briggs, is the author of the substantial 1623 *De sectore & radio. The description and use of the sector* [STC 12521-12523], which also included other (improved) mathematical instruments of his own design such as a cross-staff and an alternative to the traditional backstaff.⁶² It was originally written in Latin until it became so popular that Gunter found it easier to have it printed, and this in English.⁶³ Finally, John Aspley, student of physics, wrote *Speculum nauticum: a looking glasse, for sea-men: wherein they may behold a small instrument called the plaine scale* [STC 861], the scale being a type of ruler used to crudely measure distance

⁵⁸ Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, 166-167 and 212-213.

⁵⁹ Capp, ‘Hopton, Arthur’, *ODNB*; Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners*, 200.

⁶⁰ Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, 317-318.

⁶¹ Apt, ‘Wright, Edward’, *ODNB*.

⁶² Highton, ‘Gunter, Edmund’, *ODNB*.

⁶³ Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners*, 339.

and departure.⁶⁴ First published in 1624, it was reprinted and re-edited another eight times before the end of the century, with a dedication to the masters and governors of Trinity House.

2.4. Navigation-related science

Supporting and, in some way, underlying the art of navigation, are a series of scientific works in the fields of astronomy, geography, geology, mathematics, physics, *et cetera*. It is for this reason that Linton described navigation ‘as a glorious Queene, attended vpon by many honourable Ladies’.⁶⁵ A prevailing figure in this category is Robert Recorde, who writes on a variety of mathematical topics, starting in 1543 with *The ground of artes* [STC 20797.5]. This book served as a basic introduction to arithmetic and had twenty-eight reprints and editions until 1640 [STC 20797.7-20811], including an enlarged edition in 1552 dedicated to Edward VI [STC 20799.3].⁶⁶ Subsequently, Recorde devised a series of other books intended for teaching. *The Pathway to Knowledge* [STC 20812] in 1551 explored, for the first time in English, geometry after the example of Euclid.⁶⁷ Also dedicated to the young king, it was reissued in 1574 [STC 20813] and 1602 [STC 20814]. Next in line was a proposed follow-up about practical geometry for surveying and map-making and the use of instruments such as quadrants and sundials. This Recorde presumably did in *The Gate of Knowledge*, but

⁶⁴ Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners*, 209 and 344-345.

⁶⁵ Anthony Linton, *Newes of the complement of the art of navigation. And of the mightie Empire of Cataia* (1609), 3. See also our mention of him and this work on page 24.

⁶⁶ Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners*, 313.

⁶⁷ Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners*, 315.

that text, which would bring us very close to the art of navigation, is sadly lost.⁶⁸ After geometry, Recorde tackled astronomy. *The Castle of Knowledge* [STC 20796-20797], first published in 1556 and reprinted in 1596, was dedicated to Queen Mary and is a description and discussion of the armillary sphere, a model of rings and objects representing the celestial sphere with the Earth as its centre.⁶⁹ Further explorations of cosmology were planned in *The Treasure of Knowledge*, but remained unwritten.⁷⁰ His last publication, *The Whetstone of Witte* [STC 20820], which appeared in 1557, expanded on *The ground of artes* by exploring algebra and advanced arithmetic. It was dedicated to the Muscovy Company, for whom Recorde sometimes acted as an adviser.⁷¹ At about the same time that he was writing, we find another author discussing these various aspects of science. William Cunningham, also a compiler of astrological almanacs, wrote *The cosmographical glasse, conteinyng the principles of cosmographie, geographie, hydrography, or nauigation* [STC 6119]. This work appeared in 1559 with a dedication to Robert Dudley.

2.4.1. Navigation – Mathematics and Astronomy / Latitude / Longitude / Tables

Several works remain that fit within a broader category of navigation-related science; before turning to the more theory-based works on different aspects of arithmetic, trigonometry, logarithms and a host of other calculations, including measurements

⁶⁸ Cf. Johnston, 'Recorde, Robert', *ODNB*; Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners*, 167.

⁶⁹ Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners*, 317-318.

⁷⁰ Johnston, 'Recorde, Robert', *ODNB*.

⁷¹ Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, 95 and Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners*, 167.

made at sea, I shall start with those concerning the determining of latitude and longitude and other practical uses. The foundations for this had already been laid in the 1540s and 1550s by Recorde's series of textbooks.

The problem of finding longitude was tackled in 1591 by Simon Forman in *The groundes of the longitude* [STC 11185], but his method was rejected by, amongst others, globe-maker Emery Molyneux and the mathematicians Hood and Hariot.⁷² This last was responsible for various mathematical works, including the 1594 'Doctrine of Nauticall Triangles', but the only one to appear in print was *Artis analyticae praxis, ad æquationes algebraïcas nouâ* [STC 12784], published in 1631. A contemporary, and probably a colleague of Hariot, was Edward Wright, whom we have already mentioned as the author of a work on the sphere. In a move prompted by apparent acts of plagiarism by navigator Abraham Kendall and cartographer Jodocus Hondius (Joost de Hondt), Wright decided to publish his findings and methods in the 1599 *Certaine Errors in Nauigation* [STC 26019-26019a].⁷³ He dedicated the 1610 second edition [STC 26020] to his pupil, Prince Henry. Also concerned with calculating longitude and other mathematical measurements, was army officer and gunner Robert Norton in his 1604 *A mathematicall apendix, [...], with necessary observations both for mariners at sea, and for cherographers and surveyors of land* [STC 18675].⁷⁴

Moving on to works of a specific arithmetical and theoretical nature, the following are of note. John Tapp, adopting one of Recorde's titles for his own work, published *The path-way to knowledge* in 1613 (repr.1621) [STC 23677-23678],

⁷² Kassell, 'Forman, Simon', *ODNB*; Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners*, 182.

⁷³ Apt, 'Wright, Edward', *ODNB*; McConnell, 'Hondius, Jodocus [Joost de Hondt]' *ODNB*; Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners*, 180-181 and 336.

⁷⁴ Glozier, 'Norton, Robert', *ODNB*; Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners*, 338.

subtitled ‘containing the whole art of arithmeticke’. John Napier, also called the ‘early modern Scottish Archimedes’, was the inventor of logarithms and as such responsible for original publications like the 1614 *Mirifici logarithmorum canonis descriptio* [STC 18349-18349a] and the 1619 *Mirifici logarithmorum canonis constructio* [STC 18350]. While these, and some following titles, are in Latin and as such do not fall within the boundaries of original English-language publications, I mention them here nevertheless since they were written by English (and Scottish) authors and some were soon translated into English by the author himself or one of his friends. For example, Napier’s *Mirifici [...] descriptio* was translated almost immediately by Wright in 1616 and added to by Henry Briggs, who had met Napier in Scotland, under the title of *A description of the admirable table of logarithmes* (repr. 1618) [STC 18351-18352].⁷⁵ Briggs, a mathematician and geometry professor, was the author of *Tables for the Improvement of Navigation* (1610)⁷⁶ and continued to write on logarithms in *Logarithmorum Chilias Prima* [STC 3741], which appeared in 1617, but his main works are the 1624 *Arithmetica logarithmica* [STC 3739] and the 1631 *Logarithmicall arithmetike* [STC 3740].⁷⁷ Work along the same lines was produced by the teacher of applied mathematics, John Speidell, in 1616, *A Geometricall Extraction* (repr. 1617) [STC 23061-23062], in 1617, *A breefe treatise of sphæricall triangles* [STC 23060], two years later in *New Logarithmes* [STC 23063-23064.9] and finally in 1628 *An arithmetical extraction* [STC 23059].⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Molland, ‘Napier, John’, *ODNB*.

⁷⁶ This is an addition to the second edition of Wright’s *Certaine Errors* [STC26020].

⁷⁷ Kaunzner, ‘Briggs, Henry’, *ODNB*; Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners*, 184 and 340.

⁷⁸ Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners*, 195.

Triangles were also the topic of Edmund Gunter's 1620 *Canon Triangulorum* (repr. 1623) [STC 12516-12517], which included logarithms by Briggs, and Norwood's 1631 *Trigonometrie. Or, the doctrine of triangles* (repr. 1634) [STC 18692-18693]. On the other hand, mathematicians such as Richard Delamain and William Oughtred focused on circles and circular instruments in, respectively, the 1631 *Grammelogia, or, the mathematical ring* (repr. 1633) [STC 6542-6543] and *The circle of proportion* [STC 18899-18899c], which appeared a year later. Oughtred wrote two additions to his *Circle*.⁷⁹ The first in 1633 was straightforwardly entitled *An addition vnto the vse [...] for the working of nauticall questions* [STC 18899c]. In the second, however, the 1634 *To the English gentry, and all others [...] The just apologie of Wil: Oughtred, against the slaunderous insimulations of Richard Delamain, in a pamphlet called Grammelogia* [STC 18901a], Oughtred accused his former pupil, Delamain, of taking credit for his inventions. Finally, there remains the arithmetical work of Thomas Addison, a ship master in the service of the East India Company, which is entitled *Arithmetically navigation* [STC 150] and appeared in 1625, and those of legal writer and mathematician Edmund Wingate, including the 1626 *Λογαριθμοτεχνία, or the construction, and use of the logarithmetically tables* (repr. 1635) [STC 25850.5-25851], which he translated himself from his own *Arithmetique logarithmetique* based on Briggs's work, and the popular *Arithmetique Made Easie* [STC 25849], which was published in 1630.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Higton, 'Delamain, Richard', *ODNB*; Willmoth, 'Oughtred, William', *ODNB*; Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners*, 192-193 and 201.

⁸⁰ Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners*, 205 and 346; Porter, 'Wingate, Edmund', *ODNB*.

2.4.2. Magnetism

One group of books focuses on a specific aspect of the sphere, namely magnetism and the ensuing compass variation. This started in English with a 1581 publication of which the first part is Robert Norman's *The newe attractiue* [STC 18647]. Norman wrote this work from both experience and practice, as he was a maker of mathematical and navigational instruments, who had spent a considerable part of his life at sea.⁸¹ He dedicated it to William Borough, younger brother of the explorer Stephen Borough and at the time Comptroller of the Navy.⁸² It is Borough who was responsible for *A discourse of the variation of the cumpas*, which forms part two of this publication.⁸³ It had another four expanded editions between 1585 and 1614 [STC 18648-18652]. The next influential work to appear was natural philosopher William Gilbert's *De magnete* [STC 11883]. Published in 1600, it was the result of experimental research, philosophical theory and conversations with other experts such as William Barlow and Edward Wright.⁸⁴ Barlow, tutor to Prince Henry of Wales, opened up the subject for the reading public significantly by writing his own treatise on magnetism, based on Gilbert's, but in English rather than Latin. It was finished in manuscript in 1609 but only appeared in print in 1616 under the title *Magneticall advertisements: or diuers pertinent observations* [STC 1442].⁸⁵ Before this time, however, in 1613, Mark Ridley, a physics student and another acquaintance of Gilbert, had published *A short treatise of*

⁸¹ J. A. Bennett, 'Norman, Robert', *ODNB*; Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, 153-156; Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners*, 173-174.

⁸² Baldwin, 'Borough, William', *ODNB*.

⁸³ Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners*, 173 and 325.

⁸⁴ Pumfrey, 'Gilbert, William', *ODNB*; Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners*, 174 and 336-337.

⁸⁵ McConnell, 'Barlow, William', *ODNB*; Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners*, 176 and 343.

magneticall bodies and motions [STC 21045-21045.5].⁸⁶ Barlow, in his 1616 introduction, accused Ridley, though not by name, of plagiarism. This was rejected formally by Ridley a year later in *Magneticall anidmadversions. Made by Marke Ridley* [...] *Vpon certaine Magneticall advertisements, lately published, from Maister William Barlow* [STC 21044]. Ridley reversed the plagiarism charges, accusing Barlow of stealing from both himself and Gilbert, whereas Barlow insisted on the fact he had an earlier 1609 manuscript, predating Ridley's publication. To the second edition of *Magneticall aduertisements* in 1618 Barlow added *A breife* [sic] *discovery of the idle animadversions of M. Ridley upon a treatise entituled, Magneticall aduertisements* [STC 1443], thus continuing the feud. The last book on magnetism that needs to be mentioned is mathematician and astronomy professor Henry Gellibrand's *A discourse mathematical on the variation of the magneticall needle. Together with its admirable diminution lately discovered* [STC 11712]. Printed in 1635, it refuted Gilbert's thesis that compass variation was constant, arguing instead that it changed over time.⁸⁷

2.5. Almanacs

Often used alongside the more general manuals, or sometimes incorporated in them, were many almanacs and seafaring calendars.⁸⁸ Since it is not my intention here to be exhaustive, I shall simply point out a few illustrative examples, starting with Leonard Digges. He published his *A Prognostication of right good effect* [STC 435.35-435.63]

⁸⁶ Stone, Gerald, 'Ridley, Mark', *ODNB*; Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, 336-337; Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners*, 183 and 342.

⁸⁷ Goodwin, 'Gellibrand, Henry', *ODNB*; Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners*, 205-206 and 350-351.

⁸⁸ For an extensive discussion of the genre, see Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press*.

in 1555.⁸⁹ It was later continued and added to by his son, Thomas, under the 1576 title of *A Prognostication everlastinge* [STC 435.47], which included a new section ‘Errors in the Arte of Nauigation’, as mentioned earlier (see p. 17). Worth mentioning as well is the astrologer John Feild’s Latin *Ephemeris anni .1557*. [STC 443.9], because it includes a preface, also in Latin, by John Dee, with whom Feild was associated, perhaps as a pupil.⁹⁰

Following Digges father and son is William Bourne, whom we already encountered as the author of the first English navigation manual. His *An almanacke and prognostication* [STC 417] of 1571 was probably first printed in 1567 to accompany his ‘late Rulles of Nauigation [...] printed iiij. yeres past’ (title-page). It was expanded and updated in 1581 [STC 418]. Extremely popular was Richard Grafton’s *A little treatise, conteyning many proper tables and rules*, which went through fifteen editions between 1571 and 1611 [STC 12153-12166]. Dominating the whole of the seventeenth century, however, was John Tapp’s *The seamans kalendar*, which was ‘the first attempt at a nautical almanac’, according to Taylor, and was recommended to seamen by Captain John Smith.⁹¹ First printed in 1602 [STC 23679], it had another eight editions up to 1640 [STC 23679.5-23682.7] and many more afterwards.

Finally, it is worth drawing attention to the work of two further individuals who were active in the first two decades of the seventeenth century. Arthur Hopton (see also p. 29) brought out several almanacs between 1606 and his rather early death in 1614 [STC 461-461.9]; of specific interest is his 1612 *A Concordancy of Yeares* [STC 13778-13781], which is a sort of ‘utilitarian handbook providing miscellaneous

⁸⁹ Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, 96-97; Johnston, ‘Digges, Leonard’, *ODNB*.

⁹⁰ Sutton, C. W., ‘Feild [Felde], John’, *ODNB*; Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, 128.

⁹¹ Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners*, 193 and 337.

astronomical and medical data, tables of interest rates, weights and measures, the law terms, lists of peers and bishops, and the parliamentary constituencies'.⁹² One of Hopton's friends was Thomas Bretnor, also a scientist and almanac maker. A well-known figure at the time, Bretnor compiled a series of almanacs between 1607 and his death in 1618 [STC 420-420.11] in which he drew attention to new inventions and works by his friends and colleagues, such as Edmund Gunter.⁹³

2.6. Varia

Last but not least, we must discuss some dispersed items, which Adams and Waters classed under such topics as 'Dictionaries and Bibliographies', 'Education', 'Gunnery', 'Health at Sea', 'Manning and Morale', 'Seamanship' and 'Shipbuilding'. These categories make eminent sense in the context of a bibliography that goes up to 1801, but for items published prior to 1641 they are much less relevant; I shall therefore limit myself to a selection. Curiously enough, Adams and Waters's section on gunnery only lists one pre-1641 item when, in fact, there were a few more, especially if you take a slightly broader approach, as I shall do here.

In this subsection, which I propose to call 'Military Technics', we encounter some familiar names. William Bourne, besides writing almanacs, a work on measurements and the first English navigation manual, composed *The arte of shooting in great ordinance [...] for all sortes of seruitours by sea and by lande* [STC 3419.7-3420] in 1578 (repr. 1587). This was the result of personal experience, since he had

⁹² Capp, 'Hopton, Arthur', *ODNB*.

⁹³ Capp, 'Bretnor, Thomas', *ODNB*; Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, 297-298.

been a gunner himself. The same year he also wrote *Inuentions or Deuises. Very necessary for all [...] as wel by sea as by land* [STC 3421].⁹⁴ Although the work does not appear to have been printed until at least 1590; it covers, amongst other things, military and naval strategies. A more comprehensive military textbook is that of almanac makers father and son Digges. *An arithmetically militare treatise, named Stratoticos* [STC 6848-6849], first printed in 1579 (repr. 1590), covers all aspects of forming and leading an army, as well as the mathematics involved in artillery and ballistics, and was dedicated to Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, to aid his proposed campaigns in the Netherlands.⁹⁵

Two further authors followed in Bourne's footsteps by writing on gunnery from experience. First is the soldier Thomas Smith (not to be confused with the East India Company Governor Sir Thomas Smythe) in 1600 with his *The art of Gunnerie* [STC 22855].⁹⁶ It was revised in 1628 to include his *Certain additions to the booke of gunnery, with a supply of fire-workes* and published under the overarching title *The complete souldier* [STC 22856]. The other writer on this topic is Robert Norton, who, after his book on practical mathematics (see p. 32), published *Of the art of great artillery* [STC 18676] in 1624, which builds on and expands Thomas Digges's work [STC 6848 and 6858]. His appointment as engineer of the Tower of London led to *The gunner shewing the whole practise of artillerie* [STC 18673] in 1628.⁹⁷ These two works were then published together in the same year under the title of *The gunners dialogue* [STC 18674]. Lastly, there is the prolific author Gervase Markham.⁹⁸ His

⁹⁴ Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, 146-147.

⁹⁵ Johnston, 'Digges, Thomas', *ODNB*.

⁹⁶ Kelsey, Sean, 'Smith, Thomas', *ODNB*; Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, 256 and 471-472.

⁹⁷ Glozier, 'Norton, Robert', *ODNB*.

⁹⁸ Steggle, 'Markham, Gervase (1568?-1637)', *ODNB*.

extensive corpus of texts, both literary and non-literary, counts a few works on military tactics, similar to Thomas Smith's in both title and contents.⁹⁹ These include *The souldiers accidence. Or an introduction into military discipline* of 1625 (repr. 1635) [STC 17388-17389], *The souldiers grammar* [STC 17391] of 1626, and in 1627 *The second part of the soldiers grammar* [STC 17392]. All three works were reprinted in 1639 under the title of *The souldiers exercise: in three bookes* [STC 17390].

Moving from gunnery and the military to health at sea, we find that John Woodall's writings on surgery stand out. His first publication was the result of his appointment, in 1614, as first surgeon-general of the East India Company and appeared in 1617 as *The surgions mate [...] Published chiefly for the benefit of young sea-surgions, imployed in the East-India companies affaires* [STC 25962].¹⁰⁰ This work, according to Appleby 'the first good medical textbook of its kind in England', discussed instruments kept in the so-called 'surgeon's chest', as well as how to use them.¹⁰¹ This was followed in 1628 by *Woodalls viaticum [...] for the yonger sort of surgions now imployed in the service of His Maiestie* [STC 25964], which focused specifically on gunshot wounds. In 1639, these two works were republished, along with Woodall's treatises on the plague and gangrene, as one work, entitled *The surgeons mate or Military & domestique surgery* [STC 25963] and the volume was dedicated to Charles I.

Besides works discussing the physical wellbeing of sailors and navigators, there are a couple of a more spiritual nature. These are John Wood's *The true honor of navigation and navigators: or holy meditations for sea-men* [STC 25952], published in

⁹⁹ Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, 473-474.

¹⁰⁰ Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, 292-293.

¹⁰¹ Appleby, 'Woodall, John', *ODNB*.

1618 mainly for the East India Company's men, and John Skay's *A friend to navigation plainly expressing to the capacity of the simpler so[rt] the whole misery or foundation of the same art* [STC 22592], appearing ten years later.¹⁰² Skay had bought up the remainder of Thomas Addison's books on arithmetic from his widow and set himself up as a teacher of navigation. His book is a mixture of Addison's original and the Bible, intended for the poorest seamen, or, as Waters puts it, 'hotch-potches of navigational lore and biblical texts [... a] jumble of quotations from the Psalms and navigational jargon'.¹⁰³

There is just one original English-language work on shipbuilding in this period, Richard More's *The carpenters rule* [STC 18075-18075.5], published in 1602 (repr. 1616) to help with the practicalities of ship repairs. However, two works are of a linguistic nature. The first was written by the former pirate turned naval officer, Sir Henry Mainwaring. His *Sea-mans dictionary*, written in the early 1620s but not published until 1644 [WING M551], aimed to provide and explain all terms, names, words, and anything else to do with seamanship.¹⁰⁴ It was dedicated to the then Lord High Admiral, George Villiers, first Duke of Buckingham. With a similar intent, Captain John Smith, drawing from his experience in exploring Virginia and New England (see p. 23), wrote *An accidence or the path-way to experience [...] briefly shewing the phrases, offices, and words of command* [STC 22784-22785] in 1626.¹⁰⁵ It was reprinted a year later as *A sea grammar* [STC 22794], and after several other

¹⁰² Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, 293-294.

¹⁰³ Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, 455-456.

¹⁰⁴ Harris, 'Mainwaring, Sir Henry', *ODNB*; Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, 465.

¹⁰⁵ Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, 462-463; Morgan, Gwenda, 'Smith, John', *ODNB*.

revised editions received from 1691 onwards the title *The sea-mans grammar and dictionary*.

Having thus established the context in which original English-language maritime books appeared, it becomes clear that certain areas are better represented in print than others. The mathematical side of navigation was thoroughly explored by English authors, whose various works served as inspiration for further publications by their friends and colleagues. The debate about magnetism and compass variation in particular was very lively. In the application of these mathematical and scientific theories, too, English authors did not shy away from publication in print of their many new designs as well as improvements of existing instruments. However, in the categories of navigation manuals and sailing directions, original English-language works are more sparse and it is in these cases specifically, that knowledge was imported from elsewhere in Europe. One way to achieve this in print was through translation.

3. Translations

Our list of original works, although covering a wide range of topics, demonstrates that in some areas of navigation, publications were non-existent. These gaps in English knowledge had thus to be filled by translations that constitute the prime focus of investigation in the body of this thesis. For this purpose, I have gathered all those titles listed by Adams and Waters in the topics ‘Navigation – Manuals and Instruction’ and ‘Sailing Directions and Sea Atlases’ that were translated out of different languages. The reason for selecting these two topics is that they have much in common and ideally

complement each other; they also contain a significant amount of translated texts. Those found in ‘Navigation – Mathematics and Astronomy’, in contrast, are of too technical a nature or have too limited a focus and for those reasons do not mesh well with the other translations selected. As for ‘Instruments’, the other large topic, I have already drawn attention to the fact that there is only a small percentage of translations to be found here; so unlike those in the other topics, these publications do not really fill a gap.

Year	Title of Translation	Original Author
1528	<i>The rutter of ye see</i>	Pierre Garcie
1553	<i>A treatyse of the newe India</i>	Sebastian Münster
1555	<i>The decades of the newe worlde or west India</i>	Pietro Martire d’Anghiera
1561	<i>The arte of nauigation</i>	Martín Cortés
1578	<i>A briefe description of the portes, [...] of the Weast India</i>	Martín Fernández de Enciso
1578	<i>A booke of the inuention of the art of nauigation</i>	Antonio de Guevara
1581	<i>The arte of nauigation</i>	Pedro de Medina
1584	<i>The safegard of sailers, or great rutter</i>	Cornelis Antoniszoon
1588	<i>The mariners mirrour</i>	Lucas Janszoon Waghenaeer
1598	<i>Iohn Huighen van Linschoten. his discours of voyages</i>	Jan Huygen van Linschoten
1599	<i>The hauen-finding art</i>	Simon Stevin
1610	‘The division of the whole Art of Nauigation’ [found in <i>Certaine errors in nauigation</i>]	Rodrigo de Zamorano [Edward Wright]
1612	<i>The light of navigation</i>	Willem Janszoon Blaeu
1625	<i>The sea-mirrour</i>	Willem Janszoon Blaeu
1633	<i>The fierie sea-colonne</i>	Jacob Aertsz Colom

Fig. 2: Translations of navigation manuals selected as our core corpus

In the two topics that I retained, I was able to identify the following fifteen translations (fig. 2), thanks to the new database *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads: An Analytical and Annotated Catalogue of Translations, 1473-1640*. I shall simply mention the first edition of each since I am counting unique titles rather than numbers of items.

Although I shall have occasion to mention the last three items at various points in the thesis, they do not form the subject of extensive discussion and analysis in this thesis. My main reason is that, unlike the others, these works were printed not in England but in Amsterdam. Furthermore, if we take into account all the reprints for these three titles, they add up to a total of eleven books, but a translator, by the name of Richard Hynmers, is only mentioned in two. There are also no dedications or addresses to the reader. All this means that they cannot be fitted into the network of translators, dedicatees, printers and book sellers that I shall establish towards the end of this study. Furthermore, since these publications contain so many maps and charts, they are much more cartographical in nature than any of the other works under discussion. However, since they are translated navigation manuals in English before 1641, I shall not ignore them altogether since that would be misleading, especially when it comes to establishing certain statistics.

CHAPTER 2

TRANSLATIONS

The title of a 1943 book states that *Europa aprendió a navegar en libros españoles* ('Europe learned to sail from Spanish books'), and in the case of England this is definitely true.¹⁰⁶ Close examination of the newly completed online catalogue *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads: An Analytical and Annotated Catalogue of Translations, 1473-1640* does indeed reveal a sizeable subset of translated navigation manuals.¹⁰⁷ It is this group of works — all translations into English printed up until 1640 — which shall form the focus of the present chapter. I have divided the translations into six categories based on their source language and will discuss them accordingly. Before delving into those, however, I will first explain how the corpus was conceived as well as give a brief overview of what it contains.

As was established at the end of the previous chapter, the core of this corpus comprises fifteen texts, which, including reprints, amounts to fifty-five publications. Analysis of this set shows that just under half, or 46%, were translated from Dutch.¹⁰⁸ Five titles, or one third, are translated from Spanish originals. Finally, there is one title from French, Latin, and German each (however, this last was translated from German via a Latin intermediary), amounting to 7% each.

¹⁰⁶ Guillén y Tato, *Europa aprendió a navegar en libros españoles*.

¹⁰⁷ *RCC*.

¹⁰⁸ This knocks Spanish somewhat off its pedestal, although Guillén y Tato's statement is still very much accurate. The first navigation manual in English was translated from Spanish and it remained very influential throughout the period.

This set of fifteen contains all translations into English of navigation manuals and/or sailing directions and forms the core of the corpus discussed in this thesis. However, I have expanded the corpus to also include works of a similar nature yet with a slightly different focus. Thus this expansion contains some translations of voyage logs and direct reports of the first conquests. All these additional works nevertheless include aspects of navigation, although they are not manuals as such, and are linked to the core set not only through their topic but also by the translators, patrons and/or dedicatees involved in the production.

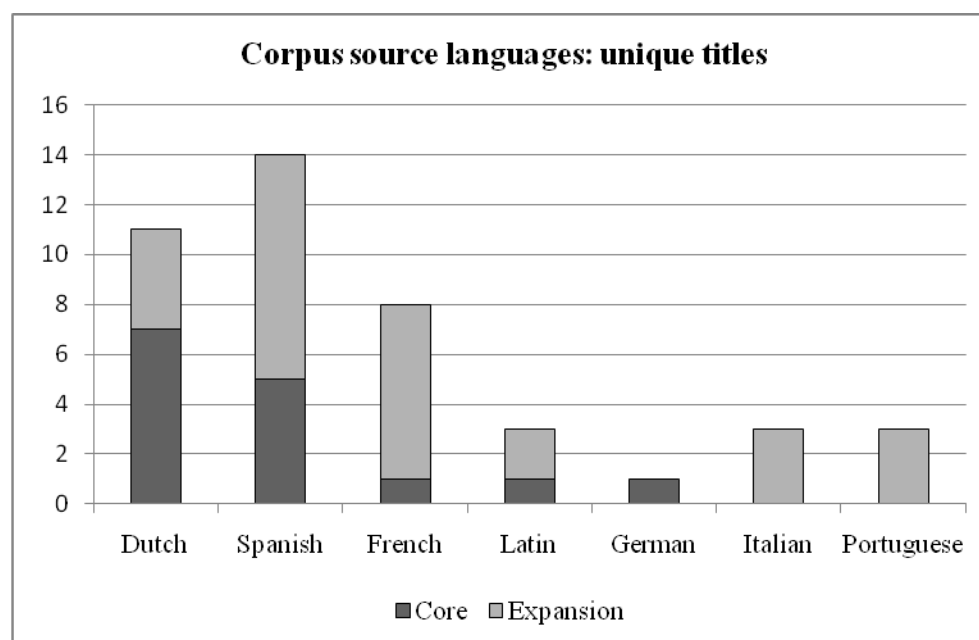


Fig. 3: Source languages found in the entire corpus (core + expansion) without later editions/reprints

Expanding the corpus in this way provides a more balanced view of the nature of translation activity in England regarding the topic of navigation. The whole corpus (core + expansion) contains forty-three works in total but when reprints are included the number rises to ninety-six (fig. 3). As far as the original languages are concerned, Spanish claims almost a third of the titles. This is followed by eleven Dutch titles, about a quarter of the corpus. Third place is claimed by French with almost a fifth. Next follow Latin, Italian, and Portuguese with three titles each, and finally, with only one title, German. Although the top four source languages stay the same (Dutch, Spanish, French, Latin), Italian and Portuguese do not remain out of the picture. The Italians and the Portuguese are after all, albeit in a more indirect way, of some importance in the history of navigation and sailing.

A tentative start was made in 1528 when a translation of Pierre Garcie's *Routier de la mer* was published as *The rutter of ye see* (STC 11550.6). In the ensuing three decades, only two further translations were published. One from German (via Latin) and one from Latin, they both comprised works of a more geographical nature. It is not until 1561 that the first translated navigation manual reached an English audience via print. This is Martín Cortés's *Breue compendio de la sphaera y de l'arte de nauegar*, translated by Richard Eden as *The Arte of Navigation* (STC 5798). That this text filled a gap is evident by the amount of interest it sparked in English navigators, which resulted in a further nine reprints and updated editions over the next seventy years, as we will see in Chapter Four.

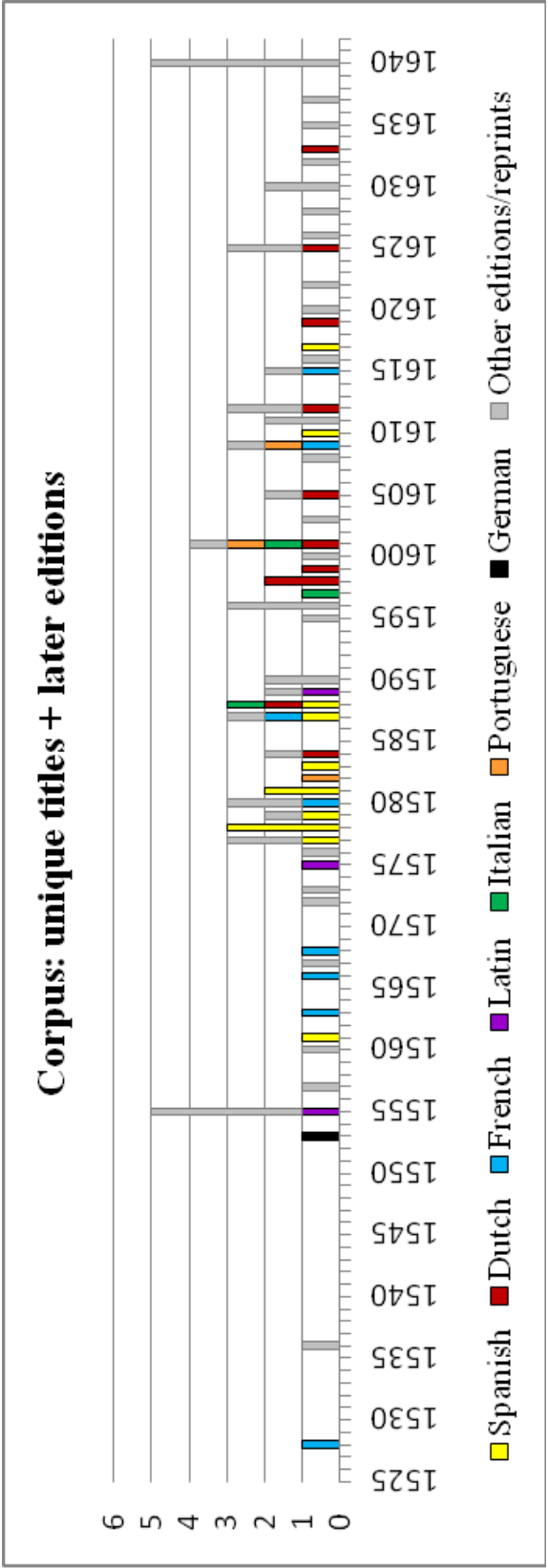


Fig. 4: Chronology of the translations

Once the precedent was set, there was a dramatic spike in productivity between 1575 and 1590, with eighteen texts being translated (fig. 4). That equals 42% of the corpus in simply that fifteen year span. Furthermore, ten out of those eighteen were translated from Spanish, reaffirming that the Spaniards had the best available knowledge at the time. After that, the momentum swung to Dutch, with five texts being translated into English around the turn of the century. This particular interest reflected the rise of the Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC) on the one hand and the competing East India Company (EIC) on the other, which I will discuss further in the section on translations from Dutch, later in this chapter.

Translation activity in the field of navigational publications finally died down just before 1620.¹⁰⁹ Naturally, several of the works in question continued to be reprinted or re-edited, but no new titles in this field of expertise were translated and published in England in the final twenty years of the time span under consideration, namely 1500–1640.

As stated earlier, I am now going to discuss these works in terms of the source languages they were translated from, namely French, Spanish, Dutch, Italian, Portuguese and Latin (which includes the one German title translated via a Latin intermediary). For two of the larger categories, I arranged the translations into a few subsections by topic. In the case of translations from French, these are ‘Navigation manuals’, ‘Florida’, ‘France antarctique’, ‘New France’, and ‘Asia’, while for those from Spanish we find ‘Navigation manuals’, ‘China’, and ‘Spanish America’. Within these categories and subsections, I generally discuss the works in a chronological order.

¹⁰⁹ The three translations from Dutch evident in fig. 4 represent the works by Blaeu and Colom but, although translations into English, they were not printed in England. (see p. 105)

1. French

Between 1528 and 1615, eight texts were translated from French. To place them in their context, I have divided them into five subsections according to the subject matter. Thus, we find one navigation manual, three accounts on French Florida, one on the colony France antarctique, two on the territory known as New France, and, finally, one on French travel in Asia.

1.1. Navigation manual

The first book to be translated from French is also the earliest work in this corpus. Pierre Garcie, sometimes also called Ferrande, was the son of a Spanish mariner and a French mother, living in Saint-Giles-Croix-de-Vie in the Vendée.¹¹⁰ Following in his father's footsteps, he was an experienced mariner himself, noting down details and sketching coastlines of routes familiar to him. His *Le routier de la mer* was probably finished around 1483–1484 and printed in Rouen some time between 1502 and 1510.¹¹¹ A decade later, in 1520, the first full edition of his *Le grand routtier, pillotage et ancrage de mer* appeared in Poitiers. In the sixteenth century, Rouen was France's third printing centre, after Paris and Lyon. An example of links between London and Rouen is the printer Richard Pynson, who learnt his trade in the French city before moving to

¹¹⁰ 'Le premier océanographe de l'Histoire: Pierre Garcie-Ferrande, père de la cartographie marine'.

¹¹¹ For more detailed information, see Waters, *The Rutters of the Sea*.

England.¹¹² Rouen was also an important trade centre with, unlike the inland Poitiers, shipping links to such English ports as Bristol and Plymouth.¹¹³

It is probably a copy of an early Rouen edition that made its way to England around 1528, resulting in a printed translation in that same year, known as *The rutter of ye see* [STC 11550.6]. Though no complete copy of this first edition exists, the translator's prologue in 1536, the second edition, states that:

a sad ingenyous and cyrcumspecte maryner of the cyte of London beynge in y[e] towne of Bourdews bought a pretty boke enprynted in y[e] Frenche language called the Rutter of the see [...] The whiche boke he instaũted me to translate ï to englysshe. (STC 11550.8, A2v–A3)

The book outlines the necessary sailing directions for the wine trade between Bordeaux and Cádiz and includes, at the end, an explanation of the law of the 'isle of Auleron', or Ile d'Oléron, off the coast of the Vendée. As Waters says, this was the then 'recognized mercantile law of the sea in north-western waters', signed in this edition as dating from December 1296.¹¹⁴

The third edition of *The rutter of the sea*, possibly of 1555 [STC 11551], adds to Garcie's text Richard Proude's 1541 *The Rutter of the North*, which in itself dates back to a 1408 English manuscript.¹¹⁵ Though the translator's name was present already in the colophon of the first English edition, 'translated [and] enprynted by

¹¹² Duff, 126-127.

¹¹³ Parker, 4 and 28.

¹¹⁴ Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, 13; STC 11550.8, e8v.

¹¹⁵ Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, 13.

Robert Coplande’, the paratext of the second edition remains somewhat vague with ‘The prologue of the translator of this sayd Rutter’ (STC 11550.8, [A1]v). It is only in later editions, for example the fifth edition of 1560, that the translator is identified clearly in the prologue as ‘The prologue of Robart Copland the translator of this sayde Rutter’ (STC 11553, A2r). The paratext now proudly mentions Copland’s name even if its actual contents remain identical. This leads us to the conclusion that *The rutter of the see* was both printed and translated by Robert Copland. Though the printing of later editions was done by different men (see below), the translated text stayed the same and Proude’s *Rutter* remained a permanent addition from the 1550s onward.

Garcie’s text was the first of its kind to be printed in north-west Europe.¹¹⁶ Copland’s translation at the request of an unknown mariner ensured that it was also the first printed version of sailing directions to appear in the English language. With seven English editions between 1528 and 1573 [STC 11550.6–11554], it is evident that the work was in high demand over a period of forty-five years. Derived from Garcie’s use of the word *routier* in his title, the English language gained a new term for pilot books of this sort, namely ‘rutter’.

1.2. Florida

Three reports on French Florida were translated into English and they are all connected. The first was the account by Jean Ribault, who started a settlement there; the next was by Nicolas Le Challeux, a carpenter who had lived as a colonist in Florida; and the

¹¹⁶ Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, 12.

third and last report is that of René de Goulaine de Laudonnière, Ribault's second in command.

French voyages to Florida — which had first been discovered by the Spanish explorer Juan Ponce de León in 1513 — started in 1562 when Ribault, or Ribaut, a native of Dieppe who was by then an experienced sailor, set sail from Le Havre with two ships. He eventually reached present-day South Carolina, named the site where they reached land Port Royal and established a Huguenot settlement called Charlesfort in honour of the French King, Charles IX. Several of his men volunteered to stay behind as colonists while Ribault himself sailed back to France for more supplies and reinforcements. Once there, however, he was caught up in the wars of religion and fled to England after the fall of his hometown. Tentative plans were drawn up in London for an English settlement in Florida, when Ribault teamed up with the notorious soldier Thomas Stucley, or Stukeley, a shady character who spent his life in and out of prison, switching allegiances and religious convictions at every turn.¹¹⁷ Elizabeth provided financial backing for this venture but the scheme collapsed all too soon when Stucley revealed their plans to the Spanish ambassador, thereby invoking the ire of the Spanish who did not want any competitors to their claim on Florida.¹¹⁸ Stucley managed to weasel his way out but Ribault was put in prison while his settlement in Charlesfort rapidly declined without the necessary supplies and was eventually abandoned just in time before the Spanish burned it to the ground.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ Holmes, 'Stucley, Thomas', *ODNB*.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Parks, 12 and 53–56; Parker, 58; Holmes, 'Stucley, Thomas', *ODNB*.

¹¹⁹ Penrose, 230; Scammell, 439. Biggar gives a somewhat different reason for Ribault's imprisonment, namely that he and three other French pilots were planning to use the ships provided to escape to France (255). See also Lowery, 456–459.

Before this unfortunate turn of events, however, an account of Ribault's voyage from Le Havre to Charlesfort was published in London in 1563 to rouse interest in such colonial ventures.¹²⁰ It appeared under the title *The vvhole and true discouerye of Terra Florida, (englished the Florishing lande.) Conteyning [...] the pleasaunt Portes, Hauens, and wayes therevnto Never founde out before the last yere 1562. Written in Frenche by Captaine Ribauld the fyrst that whollye discovered the same. And nowe newly set forthe in Englishe the .xxx. of May. 1563* [STC 20970]. Who translated the original French manuscript that Ribault must have supplied himself is not entirely clear: although Thomas Hacket, the publisher, is a likely candidate, neither *ESTC* nor other sources identify him as anything but the publisher. The only exception to this is Kirk Melnikoff, who rightfully quotes the title that Richard Hakluyt provides in his 1582 reprint: 'The true and last discouerie of Florida made by Captaine Iohn Ribault in the yeere 1562. Dedicated to a great noble man of Fraunce, and translated into Englishe by one Thomas Hackit' (STC 12624, E2). This is written almost twenty years later, of course, but Hacket was still active as a printer and bookseller at the time. Three reasons support this attribution, I believe: the first edition was printed specifically for him; he wrote the dedication; and he had the requisite linguistic capabilities.

In any case, the work was first published in 1563 in English, translated (presumably by Hacket) from an unpublished original in French.¹²¹ The manuscript of this translation, which was used to prepare the printed edition, still survives today as

¹²⁰ Parker, 57.

¹²¹ The French original probably never appeared in print. No copy has been found to this day, despite the efforts of several bibliographers. It is only Paul Gaffarel who in his 1875 work on the history of Florida provides a French title, *Histoire de l'Expedition Française en Floride*, but gives no source or authority for this. This has sparked erroneous statements in later writing saying the text 'was not published in France until 1875' (Penrose, 307 and 316). See also Biggar, 253–254; Parker, 57.

part of the Sloane collection now held in the British Library.¹²² The printed edition is dedicated to Sir Martin Bowes, prime warden of the Goldsmith's Company and alderman of London.¹²³ As mentioned before, the translation itself was reprinted by the famous geographer and author Richard Hakluyt in 1582, who included it in his *Divers voyages touching the discoverie of America* [STC 12624].

The French sailed again from Le Havre to North America in April 1564. With Ribault behind bars, their leader this time was René de Laudonnière, who had been in Charlesfort until they were forced to abandon it. They reached Florida and settled in what they named Fort Caroline, near present-day Jacksonville, intending for it to be a permanent colony.¹²⁴ It did not flourish, however, and they only gained some relief the following summer with the arrival of John Hawkins, the English merchant and slave trader who landed there on his way back from Curaçao.¹²⁵ He sold them a few necessities and offered them passage to France, but de Laudonnière refused. A few days later Ribault himself, having been released from prison, arrived at Fort Caroline. Ribault and de Laudonnière did not have much time to get the colony back on its feet as Philip II, having been informed of Ribault's release and his voyage to Florida through his ambassador in England, immediately sent out one of his naval commanders. Pedro Mendéñez de Avilés attacked swiftly and mercilessly and the French did not stand a chance. Ribault was killed along with most of the colonists but some managed to escape on one of the remaining French ships. Among the survivors who found their way back to France were de Laudonnière and Le Challeux.

¹²² Sloane MS. 3644, 111–121. See Biggar for a discussion and full transcription.

¹²³ This dedication is only present in one of the four known copies indicated by the STC, namely the one held at Lambeth Palace.

¹²⁴ Penrose, 231; McGrath, 73–75.

¹²⁵ Morgan, 'Hawkins, Sir John', *ODNB*; Parker, 58–59.

Upon his return in 1566, the carpenter Nicolas Le Challeux wrote his account of how the French Huguenots in Florida were massacred by the Spanish soldiers. His *Discours et histoire de ce qui est advenu en la Floride, en l'an mille cinq cents soixante-cinq, rédigé au vray par ceux qui s'en sont retirez* was published along with an anonymous pamphlet in the form of a request to the king, issued by the widows and orphans of the hapless settlers. An English translation was published by Hacket later that same year under the title of *A true and perfect description, of the last voyage or Nauigation, attempted by Capitaine Iohn Rybaut, deputie and generall for the French men, into Terra Florida, this yeare past. 1565. Truely sette forth by those that returned from thence, wherein are contained things as lamẽtable to heare as they haue bene cruelly executed* [STC 15347].

Though no translator has been formally identified, recent scholarship attributes this work to Thomas Hacket. As Melnikoff argues, Hacket had the linguistic capabilities; the work is in line with his presumed translation of Ribault's narrative; and certain stylistic elements in the text seem to confirm the composition as his.¹²⁶ Le Challeux's letter to his friend is translated in full but the two stanzas of verse, 'par ledit autheur arriué à sa maison, en la ville de Dieppe, ayant faim', are not; neither is the anonymous 'Requeste av Roy'.¹²⁷

These two publications by Hacket could not be more different in tone. Whereas Ribault's narrative paints an optimistic picture of colonising Florida and was probably intended to kindle interest in such schemes, as is evident from Hacket's dedicatory epistle, Le Challeux's account of the destruction serves as a warning that men should

¹²⁶ Melnikoff, 265 and 268.

¹²⁷ Le Challeux, *Discours de l'histoire de la Floride*, A4v.

stay at home rather than seek fortune elsewhere, something he emphasises strongly in his prefatory letter. These sentiments are echoed in the final paragraph of the translation, probably added by Hacket as it is not present in the original French.¹²⁸

As the only remaining leader after Ribault's death, René de Goulaine de Laudonnière wrote a report of the three French voyages to Florida. This remained in manuscript, however, for some twenty years until Hakluyt managed to rescue it from oblivion, 'comme du tombeau, où elle auoit ia si long temps inutile reposé'.¹²⁹ Where he actually found the manuscript is not mentioned anywhere, though it is possible he borrowed it from the French royal cosmographer André Thevet, of whom more in the next section.¹³⁰ Hakluyt had one of his friends, the mathematician Martin Basanier, edit the rediscovered manuscript while he himself paid for the publication in Paris in 1586. It contains a lengthy dedication to Sir Walter Raleigh, urging him to take the events in French Florida as a warning for his Roanoke settlement in Virginia, as well as pointing out the friendly Anglo-French relationship by recounting Hawkins's kind offer to de Laudonnière in 1564. The book, *L'histoire notable de la Floride sitvée ès Indes Occidentales, contenant les trois voyages faits en icelle par certains Capitaines & Pilotes Français, décrits par le Capitaine Laudonniere*, also contained de Laudonnière's preface to life in Florida and a final index.

Basanier and/or Hakluyt added another narrative to de Laudonnière's reports of a fourth French voyage to Florida, namely that by the mariner Dominique de Gourgues. Choosing loyalty to his friend and country over his Catholic convictions, de Gourgues set out to avenge Ribault's death and the massacre of the Huguenot colony by sailing to

¹²⁸ Melnikoff, 265.

¹²⁹ Laudonnière, *L'histoire notable de la Floride*, A3v. See also Parks, 114.

¹³⁰ Mancall, 165 and 170.

Fort Caroline in the summer of 1567.¹³¹ He completed his mission by successfully wiping out the Spanish garrison there, but that was the last of French involvement in Florida.

Soon after the French publication of *L'histoire notable de la Floride*, Hakluyt set himself the task of translating it into English and having it published in 1587 as *A notable historie containing foure voyages made by certayne French Captaynes vnto Florida [...] written all, sauing the last, by Monsieur Laudonniere* [STC 15316]. This work is dedicated to Raleigh as well although now the epistle was written by Hakluyt himself, who placed an even greater stress on the possible similarities with the English Virginia colony.

1.3. France antarctique

In a clear violation of the Papal bull of 1493, the French Admiral Gaspar de Coligny dispatched a small fleet of colonists in 1555 to present-day Rio de Janeiro, in Brazil. There, under the command of Vice-admiral Nicholas Durand de Villegagnon, they founded the Huguenot colony 'France antarctique'. It was eventually destroyed in 1567 by the Portuguese, who had a legal claim on Brazil. Two of the Frenchmen who had joined full of hope and enthusiasm at the start of the expedition are of particular importance.

The first is André Thevet, a Franciscan friar from Angoulême who was widely regarded as being the royal geographer and historiographer. He had travelled extensively throughout the Levant and stayed in the new colony for about a year before

¹³¹ Penrose, 232.

returning to France.¹³² His account, *Les singularitez de la France antarctique, autrement nommée Amérique, et de plusieurs terres et isles découvertes de nostre temps*, first appeared in 1558 and was dedicated to cardinal Jean Bertrand, archbishop of Sens and Keeper of the Seals of France.¹³³ It was printed by Maurice de La Porte, son of the Paris printer of the same name, who wrote the ‘Advertissement au lecteur’.¹³⁴ In this address to the reader, de la Porte alerted the reader that even though the many strange things found in the book seemed to be at odds with classical writings, they could be verified by those who had travelled there. He also warned for and apologised for the use of potentially ‘rude or il placed’ language blaming it on two factors: the fever from which Thevet had been suffering ever since his return and the death of Ambroise de La Porte, who was ‘a good student and well sene in the Frenche tong, who had taken vpo[n] him the whole charge of this present boke’ (STC 23950, *4r). Ambrose, Maurice’s elder brother, was the bookseller with whom Thevet had entered into a contract upon the latter’s return to France at the end of 1556.¹³⁵

Thevet’s work was translated into English by Thomas Hacket, who, as we have said, had already translated Le Challeux and Ribault in the previous few years. He entitled it *The new found worlde, or Antarctike, wherin is contained wōderful and strange things* [STC 23950]. Hacket dedicated this translation to the courtier Sir Henry Sidney, who had recently been made Lord Deputy of Ireland.¹³⁶ Even though Thevet had only visited ‘France antarctique’, his book discussed the New World in general,

¹³² Lestringant, ‘Thevet, André’, 976.

¹³³ Originally printed in Paris by the heirs of Maurice de La Porte, it was almost immediately reprinted in Antwerp by Christopher Plantin.

¹³⁴ Thevet, *Les singularitez de la France*, A8v.

¹³⁵ Laumonier, 113, n. 1; Lestringant, *André Thevet: cosmographe*, 100.

¹³⁶ Lestringant, *André Thevet: cosmographe*, 105-110.

dealing with issues from geography to economics and ethnological aspects.¹³⁷ This was, in large part, new and exciting information for the English audience.

Its importance can also be judged from the fact that it was present in Martin Frobisher's ship's library when he set sail for the New World in 1576, hoping to find the elusive Northwest Passage.¹³⁸ The ship took both the French version and Hacket's English translation.¹³⁹ It would not do them much good for the journey itself, however, as it was far from a practical navigation manual. One does wonder though just how popular this work was in England, given that there is only one edition of the translation.

Thevet's broad work did not remain without criticism. The translator Thomas Nicholls was severely disappointed with his description of the Canary Islands, a place where he had spent most of life.¹⁴⁰ To remedy this, Nicholls wrote a booklet entitled *A pleasant description of the fortunate Ilandes, called the Ilands of Canaria, vvith their straunge fruits and commodities* [STC 4557]. It appeared in 1583 and was dedicated to John Wolley, Latin secretary to the queen. Nicholls described in this dedication his reason for presenting the work: 'the cause [...] that I tooke this little Pamphlet in hand, was thorough the writing of Andrewe Theuet a Frenchman, who wrote of the Fortunate Ilandes by hearesay' (STC 4557, A2v).

Another criticism came from Jean de Léry, a native of Bourgogne who, like Thevet, was among the first settlers of the new French colony in Brasil. In response to Thevet's report, he wrote his *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Brésil, autrement dite Amérique*, which did not appear in print until 1578. De Léry, who later became a

¹³⁷ Parks, 81; Parker, 60–61.

¹³⁸ Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, 144; Penrose, 316; Parks, 46; Parker, 60–61.

¹³⁹ Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, 531.

¹⁴⁰ Parker, 117.

Protestant minister, wanted to redress the picture offered by the Catholic Thevet and give his version of what went on in the colony.¹⁴¹

This second report of France Antarctique found its way into English via the translator E. Aston, who included it as an addition to his translation of Boemus in 1611.¹⁴² It is present there under the title ‘Certaine things concerning America or Brasil, collected out of the Historie of Iohn Lerivs’ (STC 3198, Gg2r–Hh3v).

1.4. New France

In the early 1530s, the French King Francis I was advised that it would be in France’s interest to continue exploration attempts to find a (north) western passage to Asia.¹⁴³ For this purpose, he commissioned Jacques Cartier, an experienced Breton sea captain, for a total of three voyages. The first took place in 1534 and led to a thorough exploration of parts of Newfoundland and the Gulf of St Lawrence as well as the kidnapping of several Indians. Eager to find out more, he set sail again the following spring and entered the St Lawrence River under the guidance of his captured Indians. This took them longer than expected and by the time they reached the Gulf again it was too late to sail back to France. Having no option left, all they could do was stay put throughout the winter and wait until the ice thawed again. By the time they reached France in the spring of 1536, many men had died from scurvy.

¹⁴¹ Lestringant, ‘Léry, Jean de’, 577; Lestringant, *Le Brésil d’André Thevet*, 11; Penrose, 307; Scammell, 454.

¹⁴² Parker, 234.

¹⁴³ Scammell, 443.

A few years went by until Cartier's third and final voyage to Canada, as he had called the region, in 1541. More than exploration, this became a voyage of colonisation under the command of Jean-François de la Rocque de Roberval, who became the first lieutenant general of Canada. Cartier sailed ahead and established the Charlesbourg-Royal fort, where he spent another harsh winter with the settlers. Eager to show what he believed to be diamonds, Cartier deserted the colony and returned to France in 1542. Charlesbourg-Royal, the first permanent European settlement in North-America and the start of what would become 'New France', failed soon after and was finally abandoned by the French in 1543.

The results of these voyages were nevertheless important in the sense that they provided Europeans with new knowledge, maps, navigational routes and crucial experiences such as how to survive harsh winters, trade with the native peoples and establish a permanent settlement.¹⁴⁴ Cartier's reports of the first two voyages were published in Paris as *Brief recit de la navigation faicte es ysles de Canada*. It was translated into Italian by the Venetian geographer and travel writer Giovanni Battista Ramusio and included in his *Delle navigationi e viaggi* (Venice: Lucantonio Giunta, 1556). It is via this intermediary that the English translation was made.

In the dedication to Sir Philip Sidney for his 1582 *Diuers voyages touching the discouerie of America* [STC 12624], Richard Hakluyt wrote: 'the last yeere at my charges, and other of my friends by my exhortation, I caused Iaques Cartiers two voyages of discouering the grand Bay, and Canada, Saguinay, and Hochelaga to bee translated out of my Volumes' (STC 12624, ¶3v). This action was one of the first in a long series in which Hakluyt instigated the collection, translation and publication of

¹⁴⁴ Penrose, 152–154; Parks, 101; Scammell, 443–446.

travel narratives, geographical works and navigation manuals.¹⁴⁵ At this time, Hakluyt was a fellow of Christ Church, Oxford. He asked John Florio, who taught Italian at Oxford, was the son of an Italian Protestant refugee and was about Hakluyt's age, to make this translation. For Hakluyt, who 'had need of Italian in the pursuit of the chief interest of his life', the young Florio was a useful connection.¹⁴⁶ Florio himself does not appear to have been much interested in the contents of Cartier's account, judging from the kind of works he would translate in the future, most famously the *Essays* of Michel de Montaigne.¹⁴⁷ This makes it even clearer that he was simply performing a task for someone else, namely Hakluyt. Parks, in fact, goes as far as to call Florio 'the ventriloquist', a medium through which we can actually hear Hakluyt's voice.¹⁴⁸ Indeed, the biographer Frances A. Yates writes about Florio's style that 'when he was working for Hakluyt [...] the ornaments of classical allusion and so on [...] had been temporarily pruned away'.¹⁴⁹

Florio published the English translation in 1580 under the title *A shorte and briefe narration of the two Nauigations and Discoueries to the Northwest partes called Newe Fravnce* and dedicated it to Edmond Bray, High Sheriff of Oxford [STC 4699]. In his dedicatory epistle, he explained how he made this translation at the request of friends in Oxford and how he thought it would be useful for English merchants, something he expanded on further in his next address 'To all Gentlemen, Merchants,

¹⁴⁵ Penrose, 316–317; Parks, 64; Parker, 105.

¹⁴⁶ Yates, 69.

¹⁴⁷ Yates, 55–60; Parks, 64; Parker, 105. See also the opening paragraph of Florio's dedication in the Cartier translation: 'The olde saying is: None so bolde as blynd Bayard: nor anye so readye to vndertake as the leaste able to performe: Euen so (right Worhipfull) it nowe fareth with me, who (at the requests and earnest solicitations of diuers my very good frends heere in Oxforde) haue vndertaken this translation, wherein I holde my selfe farre inferiour to many' (STC 4699, A2r).

¹⁴⁸ Parks, 64.

¹⁴⁹ Yates, 79.

and Pilots'. He pointed out that the work contained much useful information about the people, the commodities to be found, the journey there and the possibility of colonisation, as well as the options for further exploration. Also, he claimed, that 'no doubt, if the French men in this their newe Fraunce, would haue discovered vp further into the land towards the Weast northwest partes, they shoulde haue founde the Sea, and migh haue sayled to Cataya' (STC 4699, B1v). After the main text, a very helpful glossary is included listing such words and phrases as would be most useful for communication with the native people.¹⁵⁰

So Florio, or Hakluyt through him, urged the English to follow the Spanish, Portuguese, and now French, example of exploring the New World, since it apparently offered nothing but good prospects. He stressed that he made the translation 'for the benefite and behoofe of those that shall attempt any newe discouerie in the Northwest partes of America' (STC 4699, B1r). This might very well be a nod to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who had been advocating for the last few years that the possibility of a Northwest Passage should be explored further by Englishmen and was considering establishing a settlement of some sort in Newfoundland.¹⁵¹

Some seventy years after Cartier, another Frenchman joined an expedition to New France and wrote about his experiences there. This man was Marc Lescarbot, a poet and lawyer. He went to what the French called Acadia (parts of present-day Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Maine) and stayed in the capital, Port Royal, between 1606 and 1607.¹⁵² After his return to France, he wrote an impressive history of New France,

¹⁵⁰ 'Here foloweth the language of the Country, and Kingdomes of Hechelaga and Canada, of vs called Newe Fraunce' (STC 4699, M3v–M4v).

¹⁵¹ Parker, 64–69 and 105–106.

¹⁵² Penrose, 308.

which included the stories of de Laudonnière, Ribault, de Léry, Cartier and many others, thus dealing with territories and expeditions ranging from Newfoundland all the way down to Brazil. It was published in Paris as *Histoire de la Nouvelle France, contenant les navigations, découvertes & habitations faites par les François ès Indes Occidentales et Nouvelle France* (Paris: Jean Milot, 1609).

Hakluyt was quick to procure a copy of this work as well as a translator. He chose Pierre Erondelle, a French Huguenot who lived and worked in London teaching French and was thus an ideal candidate.¹⁵³ Erondelle tells us in the dedicatory epistle to his 1609 English translation, entitled *Nova Francia*: ‘The whole volume of the Nauigations of the French nation into the West Indies (comprised in three bookes) was brought to mee, to be translated, by M. Richard Hackluyt’ [STC 15491, ¶¶2r]. Rather than simply asking Erondelle to translate the whole of this publication concerning all France’s achievements in the New World, Hakluyt selected only those bits and pieces that he considered to be useful for England. As Erondelle wrote: ‘by him this part was selected and chosen from the whole worke, for the particular vse of this Nation [...] comparing the [...] parts heerein mentioned with that of Virginia’ (STC 15491, ¶¶2r). The London Virginia Company had established the Jamestown colony in 1607 and were eagerly seeking financial backers. This carefully selected translation therefore served as ‘colonial propaganda’.¹⁵⁴ It tied in well with Hakluyt’s own translation *Virginia richly valued* [STC 22938], which was published in the same year and will be discussed later (see p. 117).

¹⁵³ Parks, 221; Parker, 201.

¹⁵⁴ Parker, 201.

The book appeared the same year as the French original, 1609, under the title *Nova Francia: Or the description of that part of Nevv France, which is one continent with Virginia* [STC 15491]. It was dedicated to Prince Henry Frederick, King James I & VI's eldest son, whom Erondelle called 'the bright starre of the North' (STC 15491, ¶¶r). The first Jamestown colonial expedition had already named part of the coast Cape Henry in honour of the young prince. Henry supported the imprisoned Raleigh and clearly looked favourably on the Virginia settlement.¹⁵⁵ Erondelle therefore ended his dedication by saying:

your poore Virginians doe seeme to implore your Princely aide, to helpe them to shake off the yoke of the diuel, who hath hirtherto made them liue worse then beasts, that hencefoorth they may be brought into the fould of Christ, and (in time) to liue vnder your Christian gouernme[n]t: So then hauing thus runne, you shall obtaine an euerlasting Crowne of glory, being as well planter, as defender of the Faith. (STC 15491, ¶¶v)

There is a reissue of this translation, which contains the same sheets but without the dedication and which has a different imprint on the title-page [STC 15492]. According to the *ESTC* these changes were made in or after 1626.

¹⁵⁵ Sutton, James M., 'Henry Frederick, prince of Wales', *ODNB*.

1.5. Asia

The final French work in this corpus of translations is that of Henri de Feynes, Comte de Montfort. It very much resembles the work of the Venetian merchant Cesare Federici (see p. 106), in the sense that it is a report of mainly overland travel discussing those things that might be useful for merchants. The French account describes de Feynes's journey to the East, starting in Paris in 1608 and going through Venice, Alexandria and Aleppo, all the way to Canton. Along the way he noted local customs, plants and animals and especially what was on offer in the markets, including details about the spice trade and Portuguese activity. On the return journey, upon his arrival in Lisbon, he 'was imprisoned, and continued so foure yeeres long, without euer [being told] the cause why' (STC 10840, Gv). Once his release was negotiated, however, he discovered the reason:

the Viz-roy of Goa had giuen straight warning, that I was an vndertaking man, who had exactly viewed all those Countries, and could doe much hurt vnto the King their Master, by the acquaintances, and intelligences I had of them, if euer I could come among the French, English, or Hollanders. (STC 10840, G2r)

Having basically been arrested for commercial espionage, he did eventually manage to leave the prison with a hoard of valuable diamonds, picked up along the way. He concluded his tale with 'Certaine generall obseruations, touching the Indies'. All in all, it was but a small booklet, yet it contained valuable information, as the Portuguese had already understood and feared.

Upon his return to Paris, he met with a young man who allegedly helped him turn his notes into a treatise. This man was Jean Loiseau de Tourval, who described his need for involvement in a preface to the reader as follows: ‘the truth is, he [de Feynes] cannot very well write [... and holds] that preiudicat opinion (the Ship-wracke of all our young Nobilitie) that it is onely for a Gentleman to ride, not to read, and rather handle a bad sword, then a good booke, but a Pen least of all’ (STC 10840, Br). De Tourval continues that he had therefore been ‘chosen for the framing and setting together this dis-ioynted Treatise, enlarging his notes from [de Feynes’s] owne mouth’ (STC 10840, B2r).

Although Loiseau de Tourval happened to meet de Feynes on one of his trips to France, he was actually a Huguenot refugee who had settled in London around 1603, where he was well-connected and active as a translator, mostly from English into French.¹⁵⁶ It is he who from editor turned translator, putting the text of which he had received a copy into English and publishing it in 1615 under the title *An exact and cvriovs svrvey Of all the East Indies, euen to Canton, the chiefe Cittie of China* [STC 10840]. The title-page linked it to current affairs by mentioning a recent embassy to ‘the huge Dominions of the great Mogor, to whom that honourable Knight, Sir Thomas Roe, was lately sent Ambassador from the King’.

To give it credibility and authority, the title-page also stated it was translated straight ‘out of the Travailers Manuscript’. Loiseau de Tourval emphasised in his preface that he consulted all other available works on Asia that were available in English, ‘which in all doe not amount to fieve or sixe’ (STC 10840, B2v). Finding none contained such a wealth of up-to-date information as de Feynes’s report, he set about

¹⁵⁶ Clarke, 36.

translating it. Despite Loiseau de Tourval's efforts to explain how and why he published the work, it was long met with suspicion by critics, who had difficulty in believing the enormous scope of de Feynes's journey.¹⁵⁷ Interestingly, the work did not appear in print in French until 1630, when it was published in Paris as *Voyage faict par terre depuis Paris Jusques a la Chine. Par le S^r de Feynes*. The fact that the English translation appeared first is definitely worth noting as it defies the normal pattern of events whereby a source-text is available before its translation. One should remember though, that a similar scenario is found in the case of Ribault's work on Florida, where the English translation appeared first and the French original was apparently never printed (see page 54).

The English translation makes no mention of the translator's name. Nevertheless, Loiseau de Tourval is specifically identified as translator by the *ESTC*. Penrose and Parker, on the other hand, refer, respectively, to 'a French resident in London' and 'one Englishman who anonymously translated'.¹⁵⁸ While Penrose's vague mention could fit the Tourval's description, Parker's allusion to an Englishman could not. Loiseau de Tourval was naturalised only in 1619.¹⁵⁹ It seems very obvious to me, however, that he is the translator of this work and this for several reasons. Firstly, there is the highly specific signature of the dedication by means of a 'Δ', a small triangle or capital letter delta.¹⁶⁰ This was used by Loiseau de Tourval on many occasions.¹⁶¹ Secondly, the dedication was to William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke.¹⁶² Loiseau de Tourval definitely knew the Herbert family since William's younger brother, Philip,

¹⁵⁷ Penrose, 222 and 308.

¹⁵⁸ Penrose, 222; Parker, 188.

¹⁵⁹ Clarke, 47.

¹⁶⁰ STC 10840, A2v.

¹⁶¹ See for example Clarke, 42 and 44 and 46.

¹⁶² 'To the right honourable, the Earle of Pembroke' (STC 10840, A2r–A2v).

became his patron in 1631, although no strong personal connection has been established.¹⁶³ Thirdly, the translator spoke in his preface of England as ‘my second and substitute Country’ for which he held a love ‘not humorous, nor new, but trulie bred, euen with nature in my childhood, & before my knowledge, vnder the tender care of an English mother’ (STC 10840, B2r). That England was a beloved second home is definitely true for Loiseau de Tourval, who stayed there until his death in 1631. Whether he had an English mother is less clear, since the modern critic Alison Clarke confesses complete ignorance for his life pre-1603, but it is very possible. This would explain his thorough grasp of the English language and his desire to be a naturalised resident in England. Clarke must not have known this translation, since nowhere does she mention it in her biographical article on Loiseau de Tourval’s career as a Huguenot translator in England.

2. Spanish

The most important source for texts dealing with navigation was undeniably Spain. No fewer than fourteen texts relevant to this topic were translated from Spanish between 1561 and 1610. Because there are so many, I have decided to divide them into three subcategories according to the subject matter. The first includes the actual navigation manuals themselves; a second will discuss texts covering China; finally, the third and largest group represents the books on Spanish America.

¹⁶³ Clarke, 49.

2.1. Navigation Manuals

Our first work to be discussed is a Spanish history of the art of navigation rather than an actual manual. The *Arte del Maerar y de los inventores de ellas: con muchos avisos para los que navegan en ellas*, published in Valladolid in 1539, was written by Antonio de Guevara, a Franciscan humanist and philosopher, at the time bishop of Mondoñedo. He is probably best known to us now as the author of the Renaissance best-seller *Libro áureo de Marco Aurelio*, translated by John Bouchier into English in 1535 as *The golden boke of Marcus Aurelius Emperour and eloquent oratour* [STC 12436]. Guevara was active in the court of Charles V, which is also evident from his dedication of the work to Francisco de los Cobos y Molina, State Secretary of the Emperor and avid collector and patron of the arts. This dedicatory epistle, which is included in translation in the English version, clearly shows that Guevara's aim was to give an overview of the history of navigation and explore how this fitted with the views of various philosophers. The work was translated into English in 1578 by Edward Hellowes, who had previously translated two other texts by Guevara. He dedicated *A booke of the inuention of the Art of Nauigation, and of the greate trauelles which they passe that saile in Gallies* [STC 12425] to Charles Howard, whom he praises for his experience and knowledge of sea matters.

The first Spanish navigation manual to be translated into English was Martin Cortés's *Breue compendio de la sphaera y de la arte de nauegar*, originally written in 1545 and published in Seville in 1551 with a dedication to Charles V. It first appeared in English in 1561 and saw another nine editions in the following seventy years. The translation, *The Arte of Nauigation* [STC 5798], was made by Richard Eden at the

request of the Muscovy Company, to whose governors the work was dedicated. This publication played such a crucial role in the development of English navigation that I shall explore it as a separate case-study in Chapter Four.

A counterpart to Cortés's text and written in exactly the same year was the *Arte de nauegar en que se contienen todas las Reglas, Declaraciones, Secretos, y Avisos, q a la buena navegaciõ son necessarios, y se deuẽ saber*, published in Valladolid in 1545. Its author, Pedro de Medina, was a maker of nautical instruments and a cartographer who also worked for the Casa de Contratación as a cosmographer and examiner.¹⁶⁴ He might have been one of Cortés's captains at some point.¹⁶⁵ His *Arte de nauegar* was written specifically for the education of pilots in the Casa, making it a very clear and practical text with many illustrations and explanations of various instruments and methods.¹⁶⁶ He dedicated it to Prince Philip of Spain — crowned nine years later as King Philip II of Spain —, lamenting the fact that so many sailors are ignorant of the art of navigation, 'the cause [being] there are no instructors thereof, nor bookes whereby they may attaine to it' (STC 17771, ¶2v), and expressing the hope that this book will solve that problem.¹⁶⁷ Medina later prepared an updated compendium of this work, which appeared in 1552 in Seville as *Regimiento de navegación*. This might well have been prompted by the publication of Cortés's manual a year earlier.

Although Medina's *Arte de nauegar* was translated into various languages soon after its original publication, being an especial favourite in France, it took thirty six years before the first English version appeared. The translator was John Frampton, a

¹⁶⁴ Fernandez de Navarrete, vol 2, 581–585; Wroth, 313; Haring, 302 and 310.

¹⁶⁵ Penrose, 267.

¹⁶⁶ Medina, *Arte de nauegar*, Ov: 'Fue visto y aprouado, en la insigne casa de la Contratacion delas India, por el Piloto mayor y Cosmographos de su Magestad'.

¹⁶⁷ Here quoted in John Frampton's English translation. See also Medina, *Arte de nauegar*, A2v: 'la cause es, porq[ue] ni ay maestros q[ue] los enseñen, ni libros en q[ue] lo leã'.

Bristol merchant who had spent a considerable time living in Spain and had at this point already translated four other works from Spanish.¹⁶⁸ His translation of Medina was printed in August 1581 as *The Arte of Nauigation wherein is contained all the rules, declarations, secretes, & advises, which for good Nauigation are necessarie & ought to be knowen and practised* [STC 17771], a title reminiscent of Eden's Cortés. Besides including and translating the original dedicatory epistle to the Spanish monarch, Frampton adds one of his own to his patron, Sir Edward Dyer. In his dedication, Frampton boldly claims that 'the like in all respected hath not been sette forth in our tongue' and had thus provided this translation for the English mariners 'who mooued mee thereunto' (STC 17771, ¶2). Frampton is hereby conveniently forgetting or ignoring Richard Eden's translation of Cortés, which had seen four editions already at this point, as well as the two editions of William Bourne's *A Regiment for the Sea*. Despite a second edition of Frampton's translation in 1595 [STC 17772], Medina would never be as popular in England as Cortés, a fact underlined by the lack of reprints and, later, the absence of any further translation of his updated *Regimiento*.

The third and last navigation manual to be translated from Spanish was that of Rodrigo Zamorano, who followed in the footsteps of Cortés and Medina. Zamorano was a royal cosmographer, astrologer and mathematician, lecturing at the Casa de Contratación of which he later became pilot major.¹⁶⁹ Although he had no sea experience himself, he published his practical textbook, the *Compendio de la arte de navegar*, in Seville in

¹⁶⁸ Burlinson, 'Frampton, John', *ODNB*; Beecher, 320-339. His translations of Enciso, Polo, Escalante and Monardes will be discussed later in this Spanish section.

¹⁶⁹ Fernandez de Navarrete, vol. 2, 685-687; Haring, 300 and 313.

1581, dedicating it to Diego Gasca de Salazar, then president of the Council of the Indies.¹⁷⁰ It was the mathematician Edward Wright who acquired a copy of the 1588 Zamorano edition and thought it would be beneficial for the instruction of English mariners. He therefore, as he writes in his preface to the reader, had it translated by an unnamed friend and included ‘The division of the whole Art of Nauigation’ in the second edition of his own *Certaine errors in navigation*, which appeared in 1610 [STC 26020].¹⁷¹

2.2. China

The year 1579 saw two publications on China, both translated from the Spanish by John Frampton and dedicated to Sir Edward Dyer. The first was an account of the travels of Marco Polo, whom Frampton refers to as ‘Marcus Paulus’ or ‘Paulus Venetus’. Whatever the original language may have been, Polo’s account was translated into Spanish in 1493 and then published in Seville in 1503 by Rodrigo Fernández de Santaella y Córdoba, founder of the university of Seville, as *Cosmographia breve introductoria en el libro d’Marco Paulo [...] d’las cosas maravillosas*. He added an introduction to cosmography to it for the reader’s benefit. This is included and translated by Frampton in his *The most noble and famous travels of Marcus Paulus* [STC 20092], thereby showing that he used one of Santaella’s editions as a source text. This English version was printed in 1579 with a dedication to

¹⁷⁰ For his inexperience at sea, see Haring, 313.

¹⁷¹ Cf. STC26020, A5: ‘first set forth in Spanish by Roderigo Samorano, and since translated into English, by a friend of mine, for the benefit of our nation’. Cf. STC26020, Gg–Oo8 for ‘The division of the whole Art of Navigation’.

Frampton's patron, the poet and courtier Sir Edward Dyer. Judging from this epistle, Frampton had a copy of Santaella's translation lying around in his chamber, which was eagerly read by various merchants and mariners, who urged him to translate it. He finally agreed, hoping 'that it might giue greate lighte to our Seamen, if euer this nation chaunced to find a passage out of the Frozen Zone to the South Seas' (STC 20092, *2).

Incidentally, this work also contains a translation of the travels of the Venetian merchant Nicolò de' Conti. His account was written down in Latin by Giovanni Francesco Poggio Bracciolini in 1439, and added to the Spanish Polo text in the 1503 Seville edition. Frampton included this in his translation, thereby making it the first English Conti edition. His main goal, however, had been to translate Polo, which is why the Conti text is just added on without any mention of the author's name or any indication it was a completely different text.¹⁷²

The second English translation concerning China was a rendering of Bernardino de Escalante's *Discvrso de la navegacion qve los Portugueses hazen à los Reinos y Prouincias del Oriente*, first published in 1577 in Seville. Escalante was a Spanish cleric and later fanatical inquisitor who had probably never been to China himself, but collected materials from various sources.¹⁷³ He dedicated this work to the archbishop of Seville, Don Cristobal de Rojas y Sandoval, and hoped it would inspire his fellow countrymen to start competing against the Portuguese. This paratext is included and translated by Frampton in his *A discourse of the nauigation which the Portugales doe make to the Realmes and Prouinces of the East partes of the worlde* [STC 10529],

¹⁷² For more on this see Breazeale, 102–106.

¹⁷³ Penrose, 285; Beecher, 330; Wroth, 312. See also Escalante, *Discvrso de la navegacion*, N4: 'De todo lo que se à escrito del grã señorio de la China en esta obra, me informè con mucha diligencia y ciuidado'.

which appeared in October 1579. He added a dedication of his own, again to Dyer, in which he refers to his previous Polo translation, and, importantly, expresses his belief that the English are equally well, if not better, equipped as the Spanish and the Portuguese to explore and trade in these regions.

Like the *Discvrso*, the next work on China was not written from first-hand experience either. Compiled by Juan González de Mendoza, a Spanish cleric, the *Historia de las cosas mas notables, ritos, y costumbres del gran Reyno de la China* was written in Rome in June 1585 and printed in Valencia later that year, giving the Western reader an exhaustive description of the country and its people. Mendoza dedicated it to Hernando de Vega y Fonseca, at the time the president of the Spanish Council of the Indies. This work was translated into English at the end of 1588 by Robert Parke, at the request of Hakluyt.¹⁷⁴ *The Historie of the great and mightie kingdome of China, and the situation thereof* [STC 12003] is dedicated to Thomas Cavendish, or Candish, the navigator who had just returned from a three-year circumnavigation, in which he explored amongst others the Philippines and part of the Chinese coast. Parke praises him exceedingly and encourages the English navigators to find their way to China via a Northeast or Northwest passage. He hopes his translation will be especially helpful ‘for the illuminating of the mindes of those, that are to take the voyage next in hande to Iapan, China, and the Philippinas’ (STC 12003, ¶3v). Apart from this dedicatory epistle, the English translation also contains an appeal by the printer, John Wolfe, who warns the

¹⁷⁴ However, the dedicatory epistle is signed ‘the first of Ianuarie, 1589’ (STC12003, ¶4r). For Hakluyt’s request, see STC12003, ¶3v: ‘which labour to say trueth, I haue vndertaken at the earnest request and encouragement of my worshipfull friend Master Richard Hakluit late of Oxforde’; See also Penrose, 151 and 285 and 318; Parks, 164.

‘Christian reader’ that Spanish friars ‘in all their writings extoll their owne actions, euen to the setting forth of many vntruthes and incredible thinges’ and hopes that the honest translation of those will not give offence (STC 12003, ¶4v). Mendoza’s history of China would, after that of Marco Polo, remain the seminal work on this country for over a century.¹⁷⁵

2.3. Spanish America

The first text in this section on translations concerning Spanish America does not actually contribute to English knowledge of navigation, yet it is worth discussing specifically because of its title and translator. The book in question is Dr. Nicolás de Monardes’s *Historia medicinal de las cosas que se traen de nuestras Indias Occidentales que sirven en medicina*, first published in Seville in 1565, with a second part in 1574, and finally all three books together in 1574.¹⁷⁶ It deals with botany and herbal remedies and is specifically memorable for its description of the use of tobacco and the sassafras tree, the latter being thought to be a cure for any disease, but specifically syphilis.¹⁷⁷ What concerns us here is that this became the first translation by John Frampton. It was originally entitled *The three books written in the Spanishe tonge* [STC 18005] but, on whose authority remains unknown, this title-page was cancelled and the translation was quickly reissued the same year, in 1577, as *Ioyfull nevves ovt of the newe founde worlde* [STC 18005a]; this gave it, as Wroth has said

¹⁷⁵ Penrose, 302–303; Parks, 164.

¹⁷⁶ Wroth, 306–307.

¹⁷⁷ Wroth, 308–309; Beecher, 327. The English translation contained the first illustration of tobacco printed in England. See also Penrose, 301.

‘the best and the best-remembered of the titles of English Americana’.¹⁷⁸ This title fits perfectly with Frampton’s desire to establish serious English trade in direct competition with monopoly-holder Spain. After all, the news is only joyful if the described herbal remedies can be obtained, and the necessity to do so is emphasised by Frampton in his dedicatory epistle to Leicester’s secretary and protégé, Sir Edward Dyer: ‘the aforesaid Medicines [...] are novv by Marchauntes and others, brought out of the VVest Indias into Spaine, and from Spain hether into Englande, by suche as dooeth daiely trafficke thether’ (STC 18005a, *2v).¹⁷⁹ A second enlarged edition appeared in 1580 [STC 18006 and another issue STC 18006.5] while a final one appeared in 1596 [STC 18007].¹⁸⁰

A year after he translated de Monardes, Frampton executed a second translation. The original Spanish work, *Suma de geographia que trata de todas las partidas & prouincias del mundo: en especial delas indias*, was written by the lawyer Martin Fernández de Enciso and first printed in Seville in 1519. Having spent ten years in Santo Domingo, he returned to Spain to publish this book, largely based on personal experience, which became the first Spanish navigation manual, the first printed coast pilot for America and the first geographical description of the New World.¹⁸¹ It was reprinted twice (1530 and 1546) before being officially ‘recalled’ in 1558 by the

¹⁷⁸ Wroth, 308.

¹⁷⁹ See also Beecher, 324–328.

¹⁸⁰ The dedicatory epistle is reprinted in these later editions unchanged apart from the date at the end, which was 1 October 1577 but becomes 1 February (no year) in STC 18007.

¹⁸¹ Penrose, 95 and 294; Wroth, 310; Haring, 310; Beecher, 329.

Spanish government, despite its first being issued with a royal privilege.¹⁸² This was picked up on by Frampton, since he writes in his epistle that it was ‘called in aboute tvventie yeares past, for that it reuealed secretes that the Spanish nation vvas loth to haue knovven to the vvorlde’ (STC 10823, A2). Spain’s move to withdraw Enciso’s navigational knowledge from the public domain was somewhat too late. In 1541, a translation into English (with additions) was made by Roger Barlow, a member of the English community in Seville and shipmate of the explorer Sebastian Cabot, under the title of ‘Brieve Summe of Geographie’. Although this was not printed until the twentieth century, the manuscript must have circulated amongst English navigators and merchants.¹⁸³

A printed translation by Frampton appeared in 1578, although it did not reproduce the whole source text but only the section on the West Indies and was therefore entitled *A Brieve Description of the Portes, Creekes, Bayes, and Hauens, of the Weast India* [STC 10823]. The Spanish original was dedicated to Charles V, as Frampton is keen to point out on his title-page, but he does not actually provide his readers with said dedication.¹⁸⁴ Seeing that Sir Humphrey Gilbert had recently put forth a proposal to rile the Spanish by establishing an English colony in the West Indies and was about to embark on a voyage, this would explain why Frampton only translated this particular section. Whether the translation was also published with the aim of encouraging English privateering there by such men as Drake, as has sometimes been

¹⁸² For the privilege, see Fernández de Enciso, *Suma de geographia*, A1v: ‘Preuilegio real [...] Fecha en la ciudad de çaragoça a cinco días del mes de setiẽbre de mil & quiniẽtos & deziocho años. Yo el rey. Por mandado del rey’. For the ‘recall’, see Beecher, 329; Wroth, 310.

¹⁸³ Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, 54; Penrose, 170 and 295; Wroth, 310.

¹⁸⁴ Fernández de Enciso, *Suma de geographia*, A2–A2v: ‘Dirigida al muy alto & catholico principe don Carlos rey de castilla &c.’; STC 10823, title-page: ‘The Originall whereof was directed to the mightie Prince Done Charles, King of Castile, &c.’.

suggested, remains open for debate.¹⁸⁵ As Waters points out, however, given the fact that it was never reprinted, it was very likely that its services as a rutter were ‘either too inadequate or too out of date for pilotage purposes in the ‘80s and ‘90s’.¹⁸⁶

After both of Frampton’s contributions, the next two translations are by Thomas Nicholls, also known as Nicholas. Like Frampton, Nicholls spent several years living on Spanish soil, specifically the Canary Islands, and similarly ran into trouble with the Inquisition, which led to his imprisonment in Seville.¹⁸⁷ His first translation in this corpus appeared in 1578, the same year as Frampton’s *Enciso*, and concerns the second part of *Historia general de las Indias*, a work by Francisco López de Gómara. It is no surprise that this text, too, focuses specifically on the West Indies, which is reflected in Nicholls’s choice of title, *The Pleasant Historie of the Conquest of the Weast India, now called new Spayne* [STC 16807], where the ‘pleasant’ is very reminiscent of the ‘joyfull’ in Frampton’s de Monardes title. A second edition was printed in 1596 [STC 16808].

López de Gómara was the secretary and private chaplain of conquistador Hernán Cortés after his return to Spain in 1540. Based on first-hand information from witnesses, including of course Cortés himself, he wrote this history of Spain’s discoveries in the New World, of which the second part focussed on Mexico. It is to be expected, given his position, that Gómara would be laudatory of his patron. However, he praised him to such an extent, to the detriment of others, that very soon after its original printing in Zaragoza in 1552, further reprints were forbidden by the Spanish

¹⁸⁵ Wroth, 311; Beecher, 329.

¹⁸⁶ Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, 148 and 262.

¹⁸⁷ Baldwin, ‘Nicholls, Thomas’, *ODNB*; Javier Castilo, 57–69; Beecher, 334.

authorities. Especially outraged about the misrepresentation was Bernal Díaz del Castillo, one of Cortés's companions, who 'regarded Gomara as a meretricious sycophant' and later published his own *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España*, the *true* history.¹⁸⁸

Nicholls dedicated the translation to Sir Francis Walsingham, at the time principal secretary of Elizabeth. Although he emphasises the fact that the account is 'a most true and iust report of matter paste in effect' (STC 16807, A2r), he never mentions Gómara's name. The dedicatory epistle is interesting for a variety of reasons. Firstly, Nicholls's aim is clearly to encourage English explorations by demonstrating how successful Cortés was and holding him up as an example to be surpassed. On a second note, it contains a long episode on Zárate, which I will discuss below as that work will be his second translation in this corpus. Finally, Nicholls claims that, if this work is well-received by Walsingham, it will 'be for me an encouragement to take in hande the translation of the East India, vvhich is now enioyed by the King of Portingall' (STC 16807, A4v). Since no such work appeared under Nicholls's own name, it is my opinion that this refers to the 1582 translation of Castanheda's *Historia*. This would fit into the time-frame and prove that 'Nicholas Lichefield' was indeed a pseudonym of Thomas Nicholas/Nicholls. It also ties in with the claims in the Castanheda dedication that the translator spent several years abroad, and would explain how this otherwise unknown 'Lichefield' would be acquainted with his dedicatee, Sir Francis Drake, who is greatly praised by Nicholls in his next translation.

Before moving on to that work, however, I would like to put into question the following statement by R. C. D. Baldwin in his *ODNB* article on Thomas Nicholls:

¹⁸⁸ Penrose, 295–296.

‘The first of Nicholls’s translations was *The Pleasant Historie of the Conquest of the West India, now called New Spayne*, printed in 1578 with a dedication to Walsingham that revealed it was not based on the original Spanish version of 1552 but on an Italian translation by Agostino de Cravaliz’.¹⁸⁹ Firstly, on a minor note, it should be pointed out that Nicholls’s first translation was not Gomára’s *Pleasant Historie* but rather a news report from China, usually dated 1577 [STC 5141].¹⁹⁰ Secondly, Baldwin’s claim that Nicholls used an intermediary translation deserves reconsideration. Even though the critic cites the dedication to Walsingham as his source, this paratext makes no mention or allusion to an Italian intermediary in either the first or second edition. On the contrary, Nicholls specifically wrote ‘I haue translated out of the Spanish tong’ (STC 16807, A4), which is reiterated on the title-page. Admittedly, we should not always take such statements at face value. Nevertheless, I see no reason to doubt this particular one, especially given the fact that all of Nicholls’s other translations were made directly from the Spanish.

A few years later, in 1581, Nicholls translated *Historia del descvbrimiento y conqvista del Perv*. This was the work of Agustín de Zárate, a Spanish civil servant acting as secretary to Charles V and later auditor of revenue accounts to do with Peru, where he was sent in 1543 to oversee the colonies’ finances.¹⁹¹ Once there, he was quickly caught up in the wars and conflicts that erupted between the conquistadores on whether or not to support new laws passed by Charles V. On the opposing side was Gonzalo

¹⁸⁹ Baldwin, ‘Nicholls, Thomas’, *ODNB*.

¹⁹⁰ Baldwin states 1578 as date of printing and puts it in second place, thereby contradicting the date given by *STC* and maintained by *ESTC*. See also Javier Castillo, 68.

¹⁹¹ Zárate, *Historia del descvbrimiento y conqvista del Perv*, *2; STC 26123, A3v.

Pizarro, who forced Zaráte ‘at the point of a gun to sign a decree appointing [him] governor of Peru’.¹⁹² About five years later, Zaráte was finally able to travel back to Europe. Even though Pizarro was now dead, having been beheaded after surrendering, it took Zaráte seven years before he decided to bring out his account of the events in Peru, which, in an attempt to further shield himself from possible retaliation, was printed in Antwerp in March 1555. The first ‘Spanish’ edition did not appear until 1577, when the work was printed in Seville. Zaráte was apparently afraid that any descendants of the ‘disgraced’ conquistadores would take offence, while on the other hand those on the winning side would judge whether or not he had praised them enough.¹⁹³ In short, although he felt uncomfortable publishing an account of such recent events, it was printed at the request of the king.¹⁹⁴ This king, however, was not Charles V, who only abdicated as King of Spain in 1556. Rather, Zaráte dedicated his work ‘A la Magestad del Rey de Inglaterra Principe Nuestro Señor’, referring to Philip II, then King Consort of England, who apparently had enjoyed reading the work on his voyage from Coruña to England.¹⁹⁵

If we are to believe the tale Nicholls spins in the dedication for his Gomára translation, he met Zaráte on the road whilst travelling from Toledo to the Spanish court.¹⁹⁶ The latter, seventy years old with a lame leg and bad shoulder, remnants from the Peruvian wars, explained he was seeking ‘to haue licence and authoritie to discouer and conquere a certayne parte of India, vvhyche adioyneth vvith Brazile, and is part of

¹⁹² Penrose, 297.

¹⁹³ See Penrose, 297; but especially STC 26123, A4.

¹⁹⁴ See STC 26123, A4v but especially Zaráte, *Historia del descvbrimiento y conqvista del Perv*, *5–*5v.

¹⁹⁵ See Zaráte, *Historia del descvbrimiento y conqvista del Perv*, *2 for the dedication. See also Zaráte, *Historia del descvbrimiento y conqvista del Perv*, *5–*5v: ‘me hizo a mi tanta merced, y a el tan gran fauor de leerle en el viaje y navegaciõ que prosperamẽte hizo de la Coruña a Inglaterra’.

¹⁹⁶ For the full account, see STC 26123, A2v–A4.

the Empire of Pirru' (STC 26123, A3). He was not doing this to fill his own pockets, as he had plenty of money lying around in the 'Contractation house in the Citie of Siuill', but to do service to his country as a good Christian by offering employment and opportunities to young people, having four ships at his disposal for this expedition. It is my belief that Nicholls included this story in his Gomára edition, and not in the Zaráte itself, for two reasons. Firstly, it reaffirmed what he had said in his preface to the Gomára translation, that conquistador Hernán Cortés had proved the New World was a goldmine waiting to be explored and that the English would be wise to take an active part in this. Secondly, like his reference to the Castanheda text, it could serve as a teaser or advert to support his further translations by announcing that he had a good story to tell.

The first of the two reasons is evident again from the fact that the Zaráte translation had two title-pages. *The discoverie and conqvest of the Prouinces of Pery, and the Nauigation in the South Sea, along that Coast. And also of the ritche Mines of Potosi*, with an illustration of said mines, is meant to immediately seize the reader's attention by announcing riches, as well as stressing there is now a known navigable route to them. The second title-page is more traditional with *The strange and delectable History of the discouerie and Conquest of the Prouinces of Peru, in the South Sea*, where it is interesting to note the word 'delectable' joining the ranks of 'joyfull' and 'pleasant'. Nicholls evidently also achieved his second goal, to receive support, since he dedicated this translation to 'Maister Thomas Wilson, Doctor of Ciuill Lawe, and one of the principall Secretaries, to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie'. Wilson, who died a few months after this publication, had many influential connections amongst

both courtiers and merchants and was a writer and translator himself, a fact that made him an ideal dedicatee.

The translations we have considered so far have painted a fairly rosy picture of the riches to be discovered in the New World thanks to Spanish explorations. Apart from the Peruvian wars, where the conquistadores fought amongst themselves over those riches, things appear to have gone relatively smoothly. However, the English reader's potentially optimistic view of this New Spain would soon be shattered with the next publication. In 1583, *The Spanish Colonie, or Briefe Chronicle of the Acts and gestes of the Spaniardes in the West Indies, called the newe World* [STC 4739] appeared. It is a translation of *Breuissima relacion de la destruycion de las Indias*, a work by the Dominican missionary Bartolomé de Las Casas, who apparently was 'the first priest to be ordained in the New World' and rapidly became known as the 'Apostle of the Indians'.¹⁹⁷ Upon his return to Spain, he published nine tracts in 1552–1553 advocating Amerindian rights, of which the *Breuissima relacion* was one; it was dedicated to Philip II and remains perhaps the best known. Though this is not a navigation manual, its influence on the early English colonisation efforts is undeniable and justifies this brief mention. In outlining the rather more grim and cruel side of the Spanish conquistadores, this work provides a much needed counter voice to the Lopez de Gomára translation of five years earlier.

The identity of the translator of *The Spanish Colonie*, remains somewhat of a mystery. The title-page merely states, 'And nowe first translated into English, by M.M.S.' (STC 4739), giving no clue about the identity of the translator, nor about the

¹⁹⁷ Penrose, 292.

original language. The address to the reader, however, acts as a sort of second title-page since it gives us a title, an original language, a translator, and a dedicatee:

Spanish cruelties and tyrannies, perpetrated in the West Indies, commonly termed The newe found worlde. Briefly described in the Castilian language [...] faithfully translated by Iames Aliggrodo, to serve as a President and warning to the xij. Prouinces of the lowe Countries. (STC 4739, ¶2)

An easy assumption to make from this statement would be that the English translator was James Aliggrodo.¹⁹⁸ Nevertheless, this leaves us with two potential problems: the initials M. M. S. and the warning to the Low Countries. These are easily solved, however, by accepting Aliggrodo, not as the English translator, but as the author of this paratext, whereby it makes perfect sense to accept that the paratext was not written for this particular translation. In fact, it belongs to a different text of which Aliggrodo *is* the translator: *Tyrannies et cruautez des Espagnols, perpetrees es Indes Occidentales, qu'on dit Le Nouveau monde*, a French translation of Las Casas by Jacques de Miggrode, published in Antwerp in 1579.¹⁹⁹ It thus becomes clear that this whole address to the reader is a translation of Miggrode's French paratext, implying that the English translator used this French version as an intermediary, rather than going to the original Spanish of Las Casas. As far as the initials M. M. S. go, the English translation has been plausibly attributed to the clergyman, and later schoolmaster, Mark

¹⁹⁸ See for example Shaskan Bumas, 109; Mancall, 110.

¹⁹⁹ For the identification of Aliggrodo as the Fleming Jacques de Miggrode, see Lockey, 163. For a discussion of the differences between the French paratext and its English translation, see Boruchoff, 814–815.

Sadlington, who was a Cambridge graduate at that time.²⁰⁰ In that case the additional ‘M.’ might point to ‘Master’ or ‘Magister’.

The next book is a small work describing the expedition of Antonio de Espejo, who travelled to northern New Mexico in 1582–1583. It appeared in Madrid in 1586 as *El viaie qve hizo Antonio de Espeio en el anno de ochenta y tres: el qual con sus companneros descubrieron vna tierra [...] por nōbre nuevo Mexico*, and the colophon states this was done ‘de nuevo en Paris el mesmo anno, al la costa de Richardo Hakluyt’.²⁰¹ An English translation entitled *New Mexico. Otherwise, The Voiage of Anthony of Espeio* was published soon after in mid-1587 [STC 18487]. The title-page indicates it was translated out of Spanish from the 1586 Madrid copy, but the translator himself is only known by the initials ‘A. F.’ found at the end of the dedicatory epistle. Though Penrose claims this work was printed ‘in 1587 under Hakluyt’s direction’, I am not convinced that was the case.²⁰² As Parks writes, Hakluyt made his own translation for publication in the *Principal Navigations*.²⁰³ Also, there is no mention of Hakluyt in this translation. The dedication is to ‘maister Henrie Anderson Merchant’, and the translator writes about the original ‘being deliuered vnto mee by Maister Boldley’ (STC 18487, A2–A2v). This could well refer to John Bodley, who was, amongst other things, a London merchant as well as a publisher, or perhaps it was his son, Sir Thomas, who would later found the Bodleian Library. This leaves us with the initials ‘A. F.’, which the *ESTC* claims refer to Francesco Avanzi.

²⁰⁰ Wright, Stephen, ‘Sadlington, Mark’, *ODNB*.

²⁰¹ Espejo, *El viaie*, colophon.

²⁰² Penrose, 151.

²⁰³ Parks, 118 and 164.

Avanzi was a writer, originally from Venice, who died sometime near the end of the sixteenth century.²⁰⁴ He translated Juan González de Mendoza's work on China (see p. 76) from Spanish into Italian towards the end of 1587. Since Mendoza's work includes Espejo's account, the *ESTC* describes this translation as a selection from Mendoza, and therefore attributes it to Avanzi, who matches the initials. It seems, however, more likely that this translation was made, not from Mendoza's text, but from a separate publication, the *El viaie* indicated earlier. Not only does the English title completely match the Spanish one, the dedicatory epistle also speaks of 'a small Spanish Pamphlet' (STC 18487, A2v). As to Avanzi being the translator, there is no indication that he would be likely to translate into English, no English works of his are extant, and it is unclear as to how he would know the London merchants Anderson and Bodley.

As stated earlier, Espejo's account was translated again by Hakluyt for his own publication. Before that, however, it appeared in 1588 as part of a translation of Mendoza, undertaken at Hakluyt's request by Robert Parke. However, Parke did not use A. F.'s translation, nor Hakluyt's own, but made a new translation himself. Curiously though, this was 'retranslated [...] from a French intermediary', unlike the rest of the Mendoza translation which was made from the original Spanish.²⁰⁵ Unsurprisingly, this resulted in 'a distinctly inferior translation'.²⁰⁶

One further figure needs to be mentioned, namely the navigator Pedro Fernandes de Quirós, or Queirós. Originally Portuguese, Quiros embarked on several missionary

²⁰⁴ Ferrari, 77.

²⁰⁵ Parks, 164.

²⁰⁶ Parks, 164.

expeditions for the Spanish crown with the support of the Pope.²⁰⁷ On one such voyage in 1606, he discovered part of what is now the Republic of Vanuatu, where he unsuccessfully tried to establish a ‘New Jerusalem’ on the isle of Espiritu Santo, which he believed to be a new southern continent. His account, *Relacion de un memorial que ha presentado [...] Pedro Fernandez de Quir, sobre la poblacion y descubrimiento de la quarta parte del mundo, Austrialia incognita*, was published in 1610. It was translated into English in 1617 as *Terra Australis incognita, or A new Southerne Discoverie, containing A fifth part of the World. Lately found out by Ferdinand De Qvir, a Spanish Captaine* [STC 10822]. The translator remains unknown and is only identified on the title-page of some variants as ‘W. B.’, who according to the *ESTC* flourished in 1613–1617. Penrose describes Quiros’s expedition as ‘the last great Spanish voyage before the fading of the heroic age’.²⁰⁸

3. Dutch

The first title in this group of translations from the Dutch is *The Safegard of Sailers, or Great Rutter* [STC 21545], which appeared in 1584. It is in fact a translation of two Dutch works: the *Leeskaartboek van Wisbuy* en Joachim Hubrich’s 1569 *Almanack*. The anonymous *Leeskaartboek*, which the STC attributes to Cornelis Anthonisz, was based on the *Dit is die Caerte vander zee om Oost en West te zeylen* [‘this is the map of the sea to sail east and west’], which was also anonymous. The translator is the

²⁰⁷ Penrose, 166–168.

²⁰⁸ Penrose, 167.

hydrographer and maker of mathematical instruments Robert Norman, who in 1581 had written the treatise on magnetic variation, *The Newe Attractive*. Norman dedicated this translation to Lord Charles Howard. It was revised and expanded by Edward Wright in 1605 and again in 1612 by John Tapp. With eight reprints up until 1640 [STC 21546–21550.5], this work — the first English ‘rutter’ with coastal profiles — remained very popular on the English market.

In the year of the defeat of the Armada, another Dutch work appeared in English translation, namely Lucas Jansz Waghenaer’s *Spieghel der Zeevaerdt*, originally published in two parts, in 1584 and 1585, and dedicated to Prince William of Orange. Two ambassadors of the Low Countries, ‘Io. Dowza Baron of Nortwick’ and ‘M. Doctor Maelson’, brought it to the attention of Charles Howard in 1585.²⁰⁹ Janus Dousa, or Jan van der Does, was a Dutch statesman, having first-hand experience from amongst others the Siege of Leiden in 1574 and previous diplomatic missions. He was also a well-connected humanist and poet and, as first curator of the newly founded Leiden University, responsible for attracting such people there as Lipsius and Scaliger. The second ambassador was Franciscus, or François, Maelson. Besides his medical profession, Maelson developed a political career which included an important position in Enkhuizen, Waghenaer’s home town, as well as acting as ambassador for the States of Holland and West Friesland. He was a patron to Waghenaer and financially

²⁰⁹ We read the following in ‘The authors admonition to the reader’: ‘these most famous and learned men [...] who this last yeare [i.e. 1585] were Embassadours for the States of the vnited Prouinces of the low countries, vnto the most renowned [sic] Queene of England’ (STC 24931, [*2r]).

supported the publication of his *Spieghel*.²¹⁰ The result of this joint diplomatic mission by Dousa and Maelson was summarised by Waghenaeer, here in translation, as follows:

a booke of these Sea-cardes [i.e. first part of *Spieghel*] was presented at the Counsell table, by the moste noble Lorde, My Lorde Charles Howard, Baron of Effingham, Lorde Admirall of England, and was esteemed by the chief personages of that graue Counsell, worthy to be translated and Printed into a language familiar to all Nations, that it might bee both read and vnderstood of all. (STC 24931, [*2])

Indeed, soon after this meeting, an ‘international’ Latin version appeared in 1586, translated by Marten Everart, or Everaert.²¹¹ The first part of this *Speculum Nauticum* was dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, the second to King Frederick II of Denmark and Norway. It includes an ‘admonition to the reader’ by Waghenaeer in which he explains how the publication came about, and also a commendatory poem by Dousa, praising ‘Lucas Aurigarius’.

It was the Lord Chancellor, Sir Christopher Hatton, who assigned one of his men, Anthony Ashley, clerk of the Privy Council, to translate the work into English, possibly in late 1586 but probably early 1587.²¹² The translation was made from the Latin version, rather than the Dutch original. It includes a translation of Waghenaeer’s admonition, from which the above quotation is taken, as well as Dousa’s poem, in both

²¹⁰ Lucas Jansz. Waghenaeer van Enckhuysen, 23; Schilder, 48 and 53.

²¹¹ Everart (c.1545-c.1615) was a native of Bruges. After this translation, which looks like it was the first in print where he is named, the *STCN* links his name to translations of thirteen other texts, including Medina’s *Arte de nauegar* (tr. 1589 as *De zee-vaert oft conste van ter zee te varen*) and Zamorano’s *Compendio del arte de navegar* (tr. 1598 as *Cort onderwijs vande conste der seevaert*).

²¹² STC 24931, [*]: ‘my promise made vnto your Lordship now more then a yeaere past’.

its original Latin form and in its English translation. Ashley's version is entitled *The Mariner's Mirrour* [STC 24931] and appeared in the autumn of 1588. It incorporates a few additions to adapt it to the English market. These include, as announced on the title-page already, reports of Sir Francis Drake's expeditions, specifically that to Cádiz in 1587, and of course the defeat of the Armada in 1588. Ashley dedicated the translation to Christopher Hatton, his patron. Hatton had invested in some of Drake's voyages, which caused the latter to rename his flagship the *Golden Hind* in his honour, the hind being part of the Hatton family crest.²¹³

The Dutch edition moved from the Plantin press via Plantin's son-in-law Raphelengius to the famous Amsterdam printer Cornelis Claesz. He was granted various privileges over the years for editions of Waghenae's *Spiegel*. These included, apart from the Latin version, translations into German (1589) and French (1590), as well as planned editions in Spanish and Portuguese.²¹⁴ However, the English edition is a completely different matter. As explained, a translation into English was rapidly undertaken on the instigation of Howard and the Privy Council. This was done, however, without permission of the author or printer.²¹⁵ New copperplates were engraved for this purpose, following the original title-page and maps, but with minor corrections.²¹⁶ For the maps this meant translating the captions and titles. The elaborate title-page was originally engraved by Joannes Van Doetecum. The new title-page was composed by Theodor de Bry, who added an English coat of arms — bearing the motto

²¹³ Penrose, 184; Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, 144; MacCaffrey, 'Hatton, Sir Christopher', *ODNB*. The Hatton family crest, reproduced in the book immediately following the title-page, shows a hind, the Hatton family motto 'Cassis tutissima virtus' and the motto of the order of the Garter, which Hatton received in 1588.

²¹⁴ Lucas Jansz. *Waghenae van Enckhuysen*, 41–43; Schilder, 51–57.

²¹⁵ Lucas Jansz. *Waghenae van Enckhuysen*, 43; Schilder, 51.

²¹⁶ See also Ashley's words in STC 24931, [*]: 'I was forced to take such time for this worke as I could [...] both for the translation itself, and for the ouer-seeing of the negligent grauers'.

‘Honi soit qui mal y pense’ — and changed the Dutch flags on the ship to English ones. The maps on the other hand were a combined effort of De Bry, Johannes Rutlinger, Augustine Ryther, and Jodocus Hondius, the last of whom apparently possessed the originals.²¹⁷ According to Lloyd Arnold Brown, the newly engraved maps were ‘among the first copperplates done in England’, albeit largely by foreign craftsmen.²¹⁸ It was the engraver and cartographer Hondius (see p. 32) who, having left England for Amsterdam, published a second edition in 1605 [STC 24931.5]. He used the English copperplates as well as the title, but the text itself came from the 1596 Dutch edition.²¹⁹

The first part of the *Spiegel der zeevaerdt* can be split into two distinct items, namely a navigation manual, and an illustrated rutter. The first is a short treatise discussing cosmography and navigation, as well as giving the reader a host of tables showing latitudes, tides, lunar cycles, the sun’s declinations, distances between ports *et cetera*. This manual also includes directions on how to use the tables and several nautical instruments. The rutter contains twenty-three maps with the accompanying sailing directions and descriptions of the coasts. The second part of Waghenae’s work offers another twenty-three maps and directions. Both parts end with a list of place names in different languages. All of these components make the book extremely practical and the charts themselves ‘were the first ones for popular use at sea’.²²⁰ An index sheet of the charts reveals that the *Spiegel* as a whole covered almost the entire

²¹⁷ Lucas Jansz. Waghenae van Enckhuysen, 43.

²¹⁸ Brown, 145. Little is known about Rutlinger. Ryther is probably the only English engraver in this list, although his origin is unknown (Baigent, ‘Ryther, Augustine’, *ODNB*). De Bry was born in Liège, lived and died in Frankfurt, but was in London in 1586/7 (Radford, ‘Bry, Theodore de’, *ODNB*). Finally, Hondius was born near Ghent and died in Amsterdam, but lived in London between 1583 and 1593 to escape the duke of Parma, Alexander Farnese (McConnell, ‘Hondius, Jodocus [Joost de Hondt]’, *ODNB*).

²¹⁹ Only two copies of this second edition are known. See Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, 321; Lucas Jansz. Waghenae van Enckhuysen, 43.

²²⁰ Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, 175.

coastline running from the east of Finland all the way down to Cádiz, including the east and south coast of England.²²¹ Waghenaeer was especially strong in systematising any information to do with depths and the tides. His book was the first to print, and thereby standardise, cartographical symbols indicating such things as hidden rocks, buoys, beacons and safe anchorage.²²² Waghenaeer's work, via Ashley's translation, had such an impact on English pilotage that the book became a model for similar publications. These came to be known commonly as 'waggoners', a term that remained in use in England until well into the eighteenth century.²²³

The most intensive period of translation from the Dutch occurred around the turn of the century. Between 1598 and 1601, four different titles were translated. This upsurge of interest is largely due to the efforts of Richard Hakluyt, who encouraged several translators, in this case William Phillip, William Walker and Edward Wright. Phillip is responsible for the translation of the reports of Cornelis de Houtman and Jan Huygen van Linschoten, both of which appeared in 1598. The 'journael' of Jacob Corneliszoon van Neck and his voyage with Wybrant van Warwijck was translated by Walker in 1601. The fourth book from this period is Simon Stevin's, translated in 1599 by Wright.

Stevin's *De Havenvinding* is a very ambitious work. It was part of a bigger project led by Prince Maurice of Nassau, Lord High Admiral of the United Provinces of the Low Countries. The aim was to collect and catalogue as many sea observations of latitude

²²¹ The index sheet was made by the University of Utrecht and can be found in Schilder, 49.

²²² Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, 172; Scammell, 432.

²²³ Penrose, 263; Boxer, 164; Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, 168 and 240.

and variation as possible and thereby achieve a world wide accuracy in ‘position finding’. As a renowned mathematician and advisor to the Prince, Stevin was the right person to put this project down on paper.²²⁴ He chose to write most of his works in his native Dutch to make them accessible to those who did not read Latin. In order to do so, he had to create a Dutch mathematical terminology and, as a result, coined several words. However, if the Prince’s project was to succeed, it needed to reach an international audience. For this purpose, Stevin’s text was translated into Latin (by none other than Hugo Grotius, who was just 16 years old at the time) as well as French (by an unknown translator) in 1599, the same year of its initial Dutch publication, testament of the great interest in this topic.²²⁵ Both were published by Raphelengius at the Leiden branch of the Plantin press, entitled respectively *Limeneuretikê, sive Portvym investigandorum ratio* and *Le Trouve-port*.

Edward Wright was quick to understand the book’s potential and translated the work into English in the very same year of its publication, 1599, entitling it *The Haven-finding art* [STC 23265]. Himself a mathematician, cartographer, and author of *Certaine Errors in nauigation* [STC 26019], which also appeared in 1599, Wright is known mainly for his further development of the Mercator projection method. Stevin and Wright established a fruitful working relationship whereby they reviewed and corrected each other’s works and ensured the distribution in their respective home countries.²²⁶ Wright was encouraged in his translating efforts by Richard Hakluyt, whom he addressed as ‘my learned friend’ (STC 23265, A2). The idea of dedicating the

²²⁴ Perhaps misled by the fact that Stevin advised the Prince of Nassau and died in Leiden, Waters incorrectly calls Stevin a ‘Dutch mathematician’ (*The Art of Navigation*, 229). He was in fact Flemish, born in Bruges and working in Antwerp for several years before moving to the Netherlands.

²²⁵ Devreese & Vanden Berghe, 97; *The Principal Works of Simon Stevin*, III, 363-417, specifically 375-376 for the Latin translation, 376-378 for the English translation, and 378 for the French translation.

²²⁶ Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, 317; Lucas Jansz. Waghenaer van Enckhuysen, 85.

work to Charles Howard, then Lord High Admiral, also stemmed from Hakluyt, who had chosen Howard as dedicatee for the first volume of his own *Principal Navigations*, published the same year by the same printers.²²⁷ In his dedicatory epistle, Wright asked for Howard's cooperation and support for

this Dutch Pilot (as it were, for so I may not unfitly call this booke) whom since his arrival here I haue onely taught to speake English so that he might be the more seruiceable vnto your Lor[d] and to all English seamen. (STC 23264, A4–A4v)

In a second, more practical dedication, Wright addressed his request also to Richard Polter and his fellow pilots. As a mariner and hydrographer who had recently become master of Trinity House, the guild of mariners that regulated the pilotage of ships, Polter was the ideal person to request and assemble the required observations from the English mariners.²²⁸

As far as the source text of *The Haven-finding art* is concerned, I believe it was not the Dutch original; that is, Wright did not translate directly from Stevin's Dutch text, and this for two reasons. There is no evidence suggesting that he mastered that language. He definitely made his English translation *after* the Latin and French version had already appeared, as he mentions them both on the title-page as 'lately published'. I suggest that he used the Latin version as a source text, again for two reasons. Firstly,

²²⁷ STC 12626a.

²²⁸ Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners*, 180. Polter himself wrote *The Pathway to Perfect Sayling, showing the Six Principall Points of Navigation*, which was originally published in 1605 but survives only in a later 1644 edition. See Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners*, 338–339 and 353–354.

the only other text where Wright is indicated as the translator was from the Latin. It is a translation of Napier's *Mirifici logarithmorum canonis descriptio*, which was published in 1616 soon after Wright's death. Secondly, in his epistle to the seamen of Trinity House prefacing his Stevin translation, Wright discusses the dedication of Grotius's version in great detail. He thus writes that

the Latine translatour M. Hugo de Groot hath chosen the Venetians for their excellencie in Nauigation (as he conceiueth) to whom he might especially dedicate this small Volume together with his owne labour in translating the same[.] (STC 23265, Bv)

Of course, as Wright says, the English mariners have nothing to fear from the Venetians but are equally skilled and experienced, if not more so. This is why he chose to dedicate his translation to them, 'euen almost with the same words which Hugo de Groot vseth to the Venetians' (STC 23265, Bv). This shows clearly that Wright had read Grotius's Latin translation in great detail, making it very plausible that this work served as his source text rather than the original Dutch.

The other three works to appear around the turn of the century are more of a political-commercial nature, rather than a technical-practical one. This peak in translations from Dutch started in 1596 with the publication of Linschoten's *Itinerario, voyage ofte schipvaert, van Ian Huygen van Linschoten, naer Oost ofte Portugaels Indien*. Linschoten, 'the leading geographical figure in Renaissance Holland', was a very

experienced traveller.²²⁹ Having grown up in Enkhuizen, Waghenaeer's home town, he lived in various places including Seville, Lisbon and Goa and had travelled to the Azores and the Arctic. In 1592, however, he returned to the Netherlands with extensive knowledge and first-hand experience of the East and especially the Portuguese trade routes and commercial ventures.²³⁰ He supported all of this by bringing with him several charts and rutters, which became invaluable to the Dutch seamen. The *Itinerario* incorporated some of Linschoten's previous works which he had translated from Spanish and Portuguese.²³¹

It is no surprise that this book immediately caught Hakluyt's attention. On his advice, a translation was undertaken by William Phillip.²³² This appeared two years later, in 1598, as *Iohn Hvighen van Linschoten. his Discours of Voyages into ye Easte & West Indies*. Its title-page bears Elizabeth's motto, *semper eadem*, as well as that of the Order of the Garter. This work is divided into four books. The first contains Linschoten's description of the Indies and his personal experiences there. In the second, Phillip offers geographical descriptions of Africa and America, which had been largely taken by Linschoten from such writers as Jean de Léry, Duarte Lopes and Peter Martyr. The preface to the reader rightfully points out one of these sources by saying that Lopes's account had already been 'published in English the last year' (STC 15691, A3v). The third book discusses several trade routes to the Indies and America, largely based on Spanish and Portuguese manuscripts. The fourth book, finally, gives an

²²⁹ Penrose, 311.

²³⁰ Penrose, 201 and 263 and 311; Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, 234; Scammell, 394; Lucas Jansz. *Waghenaeer van Enckhuysen*, 34–35 and 60.

²³¹ Namely, *Beschryvinghe van de gantsche custe van Guinea* (1596) and *Reys-gheschrift vande navigation der Portugaloyers in Orienten* (1595).

²³² Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, 234.

overview of Spain's revenues from the colonies, as well as describing Portugal's government.

On a political level, Linschoten's account of the state of the Portuguese empire in the final part of the work was perhaps his most important contribution.²³³ By showing that it was not all it claimed to be, he encouraged the Dutch to start their own explorations and trade missions and thereby challenge the Portuguese monopoly. The importance of Phillip's translation is not to be underestimated. As Kenneth R. Andrews sums up, 'the Portuguese commercial empire was more vulnerable towards the end of the century than observers in England could have known until Linschoten's famous account [...] appeared in English in 1598'.²³⁴ Besides Phillip's translation of the text, the all-important maps and rutters were also included in the English version. Again, as with Waghenauer's work, they were copied from the originals by English engravers, thereby forfeiting some of the quality.²³⁵ Nevertheless, the combination of treatises and maps made this a very practical as well as influential textbook, which 'became the navigators' vade mecum for Eastern seas'.²³⁶ The dedication of this translation went to Sir Julius Caesar, sole judge of the High Court of Admiralty at the time. It was not written by Phillip, however, but by the printer, John Wolfe, who submitted its contents to the judge to 'bee examined by such as are in place and Authority appointed for such purposes' (STC 15691, Av).

²³³ Penrose, 201; Scammell, 394; Boxer, 22.

²³⁴ Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, 258.

²³⁵ Penrose, 263.

²³⁶ Penrose, 201.

It was Linschoten's early account that triggered the first Dutch voyage to the Indies. In April 1595, four ships sailed from the Netherlands under the command of Cornelis de Houtman. Only three, and only one third of the crew, returned in August 1597, having reached Sumatra and Java where they obtained some commercial privileges. The voyage was not a great success but nevertheless sufficed to convince the Dutch merchants of its potential.²³⁷ The account of de Houtman's expedition was published and sold in 1598 by Barent Langenes, who in his dedicatory epistle to the town council of Middelburg wrote that 'this discription is fallen into my handes'.²³⁸ It received the title *Iournael vande reyse der Hollandtsche schepen ghedaen in Oost Indien*.²³⁹ This time, the Dutch were not so much treading on Portuguese toes, but on those of Philip II of Spain under whose control the East Indies fell.

The text was translated in 1598 by William Phillip as *The description of a voyage made by certaine Ships of Holland into the East Indies* and again was printed by Wolfe. The dedication was to Sir James Scudamore, one of Elizabeth's courtiers who participated in the 1596 Anglo-Dutch attack on Cádiz alongside the Earl of Essex, where he received his title.²⁴⁰ Phillip ends this epistle with a specific request for Scudamore's further patronage:

Which if it please your worshippe to like and accept, it may procure the proceeding in a more large and ample discourse of an East Indian voyage, lately

²³⁷ Penrose, 203–204 and 311; Scammell, 394.

²³⁸ Here in the English translation, see STC 15193, A4.

²³⁹ This is sometimes also entitled *Verhael vande reyse* [...].

²⁴⁰ Atherton, 'Scudamore, Sir James', *ODNB*.

performed and set forth by one Iohn Hughen of Linschoten, to your further delight. (STC 15193, A2v)

Not only does this show that Phillip translated the de Houtman text before Linschoten's, but it also means that his request for patronage elicited no response; this explains why the Linschoten translation is instead dedicated to Caesar.²⁴¹

A second voyage to the East Indies was undertaken by the Dutch in 1598. This time four fleets were sent out: two to follow the route past the Cape of Good Hope and two via the Strait of Magellan.²⁴² The first of the Cape fleets was commanded by de Houtman with the help of John Davis. Author of the aforementioned *Seamans Secrets* and *The worldes hydropgraphical description*, both published in 1595, Davis gained most of his navigational experience from his three arctic voyages in search of a northwest passage (see p. 18). On the recommendation of the Earl of Essex, he entered into Dutch service for the purpose of this second East Indies voyage.²⁴³ Scammell calls him 'an English spy' but he was there as much to assist the Dutch with his navigational skills as to glean information for the English merchants and I doubt the second part of his agenda was a secret to the Dutch.²⁴⁴ De Houtman and Davis reached Sumatra and

²⁴¹ Although it is correct that de Houtman was the first to be translated into English, it was Linschoten's text that appeared first in Dutch in 1596, a year before de Houtman's. As stated above, Linschoten's work was an account of his experiences in Iberian service before returning to the Netherlands in 1592. This is poorly worded by D. Ben Rees in his *ODNB* entry for Phillip, however, as he seems to imply that it was de Houtman's success that sparked Linschoten's voyages. (Rees, 'Phillip, William', *ODNB*).

²⁴² Waters mentions only three: two via the Strait of Magellan but only one by the Cape of Good Hope, namely that headed by de Houtman and Davis. He thereby leaves out the second Cape fleet under the command of van Neck and Warwijk entirely. (*The Art of Navigation*, 232) The two fleets via the Strait of Magellan were commanded by Jacob (or Jacques) Mahu and Olivier van Noort respectively.

²⁴³ Hicks, 'Davis [Davys], John', *ODNB*; Penrose, 204; Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, 179.

²⁴⁴ Scammell, 395. The double nature of Davis's assistance in the Dutch voyage is also alluded to by William Walker in the dedicatory epistle to his translation of van Neck's journal, see STC 18417, Av.

traded successfully but then lost most of the crew as well as their cargo in an attack, which resulted in de Houtman's death. Davis returned to the Netherlands with the survivors, where he arrived in July 1600.²⁴⁵

The second Cape fleet, under the command of Jacob Cornelisz van Neck and Wybrant van Warwijck, was much more promising.²⁴⁶ They reached the Spice Islands without too much difficulty and, having split up along the way, returned to the Netherlands separately in 1599 and 1600 with a four hundred percent profit in total.²⁴⁷ It is on this voyage that the island of Mauritius received its name, after Prince Maurice of Nassau, and that the dodo was first sighted and described by Europeans.²⁴⁸ In 1601, just after their return to the Netherlands, a book appeared under the title of *Het tweede boeck, Iournael oft dagh-register, inhoudende een warachtich verhael [...] vande reyse, gedaen [...] onder't beleydt vanden admirael Iacob Cornelisz. Neck* and since Van Neck was the captain, the journal is generally ascribed to him.²⁴⁹ If we are to believe contemporary sources, van Neck was one of the few who was predominantly interested in the discoveries and foreign countries themselves, rather than in amassing a fortune.²⁵⁰

Reports of van Neck's profitable return in July 1599 reached England quickly and sparked some decisive action.²⁵¹ It aroused a competitive edge in the merchants of London, which resulted in the official foundation of the East India Company (EIC) in

²⁴⁵ Hicks, 'Davis [Davys], John', *ODNB*;

²⁴⁶ Penrose mistakenly states 'William van Warwijck', 204.

²⁴⁷ Penrose, 204–205; Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, 260; Boxer, 22–23.

²⁴⁸ Penrose, 204; Lucas Jans. Waghenaer van Enckhuysen, 55.

²⁴⁹ It calls itself 'het tweede boeck' (the second book) (Amsterdam: Cornelis Claesz, 1601). *STCN* informs us that the book that was published as the first was Willem Lodewijcksz's description of the first voyage by Cornelis de Houtman, namely *D'eerste boeck. Historie van Indien, waer inne verhaelt is de avontueren die de Hollandtsche schepen bejeghent zijn* (Amsterdam: Cornelis Claesz, 1598), which was not translated into English.

²⁵⁰ Boxer, 23 and 52–53.

²⁵¹ Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, 260–261.

1600. Not wanting to be outdone, the Dutch, too, organised themselves and established the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC) in 1602 by uniting several existing companies.²⁵² It is in this context of national rivalry that van Neck's *Iournael*, like de Houtman's previously, was translated into English thanks to 'the perswasion of M. Richard Hacluyt' (STC 18417, Av). This is also very evident from the dedication to Sir Thomas Smythe, the first governor of the EIC. *The iovrnall, or dayly Register [...] of Iacob Corneliszen Neck Admirall, & Wybrandt van Warwick Vice-Admirall* [STC 18417] appeared in 1601 and was the work of William Walker. Not much is known about him other than that he was one of Hakluyt's 'disciples'.²⁵³

A work that struck a competitive nerve in Linschoten on its publication was Gerrit de Veer's *Waerachtighe beschryvinghe van drie seylagien [...] drie jaeren achter malcanderen deur de Hollandtsche ende Zeelandtsche schepen*.²⁵⁴ It is a result from the quest for the Northeast passage under the command of Dutch cartographer and navigator Willem Barentsz. He led three voyages to Novaya Zemlya, or Nova Zembla, between 1594 and 1597 but never quite succeeded in discovering the elusive passage. Linschoten took part in the first and second voyage, whereas Gerrit de Veer was the ship's carpenter for the second and third. It was on this last voyage that things went disastrously wrong. Barentsz wanted to sail back through the Kara Sea and then past Vaygach Island but was surprised by the ice and the ship was trapped. There was

²⁵² Penrose, 205; Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, 260–261.

²⁵³ Penrose, 311.

²⁵⁴ The publication of de Veer's account in 1598 upset Linschoten's plans of having his own account printed. Not only did de Veer beat him to it, but the work was done by Linschoten's Amsterdam publisher, Cornelis Claesz. On top of that, Claesz had the nerve to advertise de Veer's book in the Latin translation of Linschoten's *Itinerario* a year later. Linschoten eventually published his own *Voyagie, ofte schip-vaert [...] van by noorden om langes Noorvvegen* with a different printer in 1601. See Schilder, 203; Penrose, 174 and 311; *STCN*.

nothing left for them but to spend the next ten months on the northeast coast of Novaya Zemlya. Having used the ship's wood to build a shelter, they eventually took to sea again in small rowing boats. Barentsz died soon afterwards. De Veer's book is a true survivor's account, ending with a list of 'the names of those that came home againe from this dangerous voiage', which count but twelve including his own.

Although this work was entered in the Stationer's Register to the printer John Wolfe in 1598, the translation did not appear until 1609.²⁵⁵ The *True and perfect Description of three Voyages, so strange and woonderfull that the like hath neuer been heard of before* [STC 24628] was produced by William Phillip, again on Hakluyt's instigation. He dedicated it to Sir Thomas Smythe, this time appealing to the latter's post of governor of the Muscovy Company. This account of voyages to the northeast nicely complemented Martin Frobisher's three attempts to find a northwest passage, providing the English with a broader perspective of the Arctic.

The last work in this category to be translated by Phillip, interrupting the chronology for a moment, brings us back to the Spice Islands. The book in question is *Journael ofte beschryvinghe van de wonderlijcke reyse, ghedaen door Willem Cornelisz Schouten van Hoorn, inde iaren 1615. 1616. en 1617*, which was published in Amsterdam in 1618. Whether it was written by Schouten himself or not, it is an account of his voyage to the East Indies via a heretofore unknown route. Along with Jacob Le Maire, son of the Amsterdam investor and co-founder of the VOC Isaac Le Maire, he set out with two ships to discover a route south of the Straits of Magellan. They succeeded. Le Maire

²⁵⁵ *ESTC* wrongfully gives 1605 as the date of publication, even though they include the Stationer's Register's details which specifically state that it was registered to the printer T. Pauier in 1609. This is also the date on the title-page.

gave the Strait between Isla de los Estados and Tierra del Fuego his own name, whereas Schouten named the southernmost cape after his hometown of Hoorn. When they reached the VOC headquarters, however, they were both imprisoned for breaching their trade monopoly. They were sent back to the Netherlands in the ship of the Dutch explorer Joris van Spilbergen. It is on this return journey that Le Maire ‘died of a fit of anger’.²⁵⁶ The English translation appeared soon after the original Dutch, in 1619, entitled *The relation of a Wonderfull Voiage made by William Cornelison Schouten of Horne* [STC 21828]. Phillip, again, dedicated it to Sir Thomas Smythe, ‘wishing it a meanes to further and aduance your trade in India’ (STC 21828, [*]).

Finally, there remain three titles of a somewhat different nature: Willem Jansz Blaeu’s *Het licht der zee-vaert* (1608) and *Zeespieghel* (1627), and Jacob Aertsz Colom’s *Vyerighe colom*, translated; respectively, as *The light of navigation* (1612) [STC 3110–3112.5], *The sea-mirroure* (1625) [STC 3113–3113.7], and *The fierie sea-colomne* (1633) [STC 5575.2–5575.7].²⁵⁷ These three form a group of their own in the sense that they conform to the *STC*’s second definition of ‘English works’, namely those printed on the Continent in English. In this case, the place of publication is Amsterdam, where they were published by or for the authors themselves. Only one bears the name of a translator. Richard Hynmers is named in two editions of *The sea-mirroure*, published in 1625 [STC 3113] and 1635 [STC 3113.3]. Though printed in the Netherlands, it is clear

²⁵⁶ Penrose, 210 and 312. The account of Le Maire, ‘Australische navigatien’, was published later by Spilbergen to accompany his own *Oost ende West-Indische Spiegel der 2. leste navigatien, ghedaen inden iaeren 1614. 15. 16. 17. ende 18* (Leiden: Nicolaes Geelkerck, 1619).

²⁵⁷ Blaeu also used the following names and spellings: Blaeu, Guilielmus ; Blaeuw, G.J ; Blaeuw, W.J. ; Blauw, Willem Jansz ; Caesius, Guilielmus Jansz ; Caesius, Guiljelmus ; Janson, Willem ; Janssonius, Willem ; Janssonius, Guilielmus ; Janssonius, Willem ; Jansz, Willem (See the *STCN* address book, accessed via <http://www.bibliopolis.nl>).

that these three translations were produced specifically for distribution on the English market.

4. Italian

Only two original Italian texts on navigation in its broadest sense were translated into English before 1640. A third English translation is made, not from the Portuguese original, but from an Italian intermediary translation, which is why I have included it in this section.

The first of these was a translation of the 1587 *Viaggio di M. Cesare de I Federici, nell'India orientale, et oltre l'India*, a work by Cesare Federici printed in Venice by Andrea Muschio. Not much is known about Federici — or Frederick as he is often anglicised — apart from his voyages as a Venetian merchant, which took place between 1563 and 1581, when he explored most of southern Asia.²⁵⁸ Since he travelled there overland via Aleppo, this work is clearly not a navigation manual.²⁵⁹ Instead, it forms part of the Venetians' attempts to gain an insight into the Portuguese trade practices in this area, which were very much kept secret. As a solitary traveller, however — the critic Charpentier speaks of 'a sort of commercial sp[y]' — Federici

²⁵⁸ Charpentier writes that he could not find anything, not even a date of birth or death (147). However, those dates and places can now be found in various catalogues.

²⁵⁹ Penrose, 198 and 305; Pearson, 461; Parks, 165.

managed to accumulate enough information to present his work as a kind of manual to help foreign traders.²⁶⁰

In his letter to the reader, he states that these were things ‘which were neuer as yet written of’ so he has ‘caused it to bee printed in this order’ as a ‘profitable aduertisement, to all those that haue a desire to make such a voyage’.²⁶¹ That said, it might not have been Federici himself who actually had it printed, judging from the last sentence in the book which runs as follows:

Io Don Bartholomeo Dionigi da Fano, da vn memoriale del soprascritto M. Cesare, ha cauato il presente viaggio, e fedelmente in questa forma disteso; che letto piu volte dall’ istesso authore, come vero e fedele, ha voluto a commune delectatione & utile, al mondo publicarlo.²⁶²

Charpentier states that he has no idea who this Bartholomeo Dionigi da Fano might be, but presumes he ‘must have brought some diary kept by Federici into its present shape and edited it’.²⁶³ In fact, Dionigi was a clergyman who had translated various works from Latin into Italian and was involved in the publication of a ‘world history’ just two years earlier.²⁶⁴

The *Viaggio* fell into the hands of Thomas Hickock, who translated it on the return journey of his ‘last voyage to Tripoly, in Anno .1587.’ where it was ‘written at

²⁶⁰ Charpentier, 147–149; Pearson, 459–469.

²⁶¹ Quoted above in Hickock’s English translation (STC 10746, A3). See also Federici, *Viaggio di M. Cesare de I Fedrici*, †: ‘lequali non furono maid a alcuno scritte’, ‘l’ho fatto etiandio in questa forma stampare’, ‘alcuni auertimenti utilissimi a coloro, c’hauessero animo di porsi a far questo viaggio’.

²⁶² Federici, *Viaggio di M. Cesare de I Fedrici*, L7v.

²⁶³ Charpentier, 148.

²⁶⁴ Ferrari, 251; *Delle istorie del mondo* by Giovanni Tarcagnola and Mambrino Roseo (Venice: Lucantonio Giunta, 1585).

Sea in the Hercvles of London: coming from Turkie, the 25. of March 1588' (STC 10746, A3v and title-page). His main aim is to provide useful and up to date information for the merchants of England who want to trade in India and southern Asia, a subject that, according to him, has barely been dealt with before. Not much else is known about Hickock, but judging from the paratexts he wrote in this translation he seems to have been a traveller and was probably a merchant himself, though not, as he writes, a scholar. He dedicated the book to Charles Howard, Lord High Admiral of England at the time, and added his own preface. Though the reference at the end to Bartholomeo Dionigi is omitted, Hickock seems to have translated the whole of Federici's account, including the latter's address to the reader.

That this work is not a navigation manual, I have already explained. Nevertheless, it was a valuable account for the London mercantile community and as such played some part in the foundation of the East India Company.²⁶⁵ Parks writes that he 'cannot find that Hakluyt moved the translation [but] the chances are that he did'.²⁶⁶ If we believe that Hickock did the translating at sea, it will probably not have been at Hakluyt's request. Nevertheless, although he is not mentioned anywhere in the paratexts, unlike in other translations, Hakluyt might have helped to get the text printed. Travelling on the same ship as Hickock, namely, was the merchant John Eldred, who writes that he 'arriued [...] with diuers English marcha[n]ts, the 26. of March, 1588, in the Hercules of London, which was the richest ship of English marchants goods that euer was knowen to come into this realme'.²⁶⁷ Eldred had left

²⁶⁵ Penrose, 198; Parks, 165.

²⁶⁶ Parks, 165.

²⁶⁷ 'The voyage of M. Iohn Eldred to Trypolis in Syria by sea, and from thence by land and riuer to Babylon and Balsara. 1583' in STC 12626a, vol. 2, Z4r.

England in 1583 as part of a team (which included John Newbery and Ralph Fitch) in the hopes of breaking the Portuguese-Venetian trade monopoly and upon his return presented a full account of his own experiences and that of his companions to Hakluyt.²⁶⁸ It is plausible therefore that Eldred met Hickock on this three month journey from Tripoli to England, and then alerted Hakluyt to the translation undertaken by him. In any case, Hakluyt's interest in the text becomes clear some years later, when he reprinted *The Voyage and Trauaile: of M. Cæsar Frederick, Merchant of Venice, into the East India, the Indies, and beyond the Indies* [STC 10746] in his 1599 *Principal Navigations*, along with Eldred's report.²⁶⁹

The second book to be translated was Giovanni Botero's *Della relationi universali*, which appeared first in three parts (published in 1591, 1592, 1595); the earliest complete edition followed in 1596. Again, this is not a book on navigation, even less so than Federici's, so I shall not discuss it in too much detail. However, it does deserve some attention, as it is one of the few works to have been translated from Italian that is still fairly close to the corpus, and also proved to be quite popular.

Botero was a Jesuit author, writing mainly on political topics, for example in 1589 in his famous *Della ragione di stato*.²⁷⁰ In 1580, he withdrew from the Society and entered into the service of Carlo Borromeo, and later that of his nephew, Federico, both Cardinal-Archbishops of Milan. It was the latter who requested him to undertake the huge task of describing the presence of Christianity on a world-level.²⁷¹ *Della*

²⁶⁸ Baldwin, 'Eldred, John', *ODNB*; Dickie, 'Fitch, Ralph', *ODNB*.

²⁶⁹ STC 12626a, vol. 2, S5r–X2v and Z2v–Z4r respectively.

²⁷⁰ Some alternative dates of birth have been given but I have chosen the one provided by *EDIT16*. See also Ferrari, 128. His *The Reason of State* did not appear in English before 1640.

²⁷¹ Headley, 1132ff.

relationi universali thus becomes an interesting mixture between geography, politics, and what we would now call demography, the tone of which he had already set in 1588 in his *Della cause della grandezza delle città*.

A first English translation appeared in 1601 under the title of *The travellers breuiat, or, An historicall description of the most famous kingdomes in the World* [STC 3398]. It is the work of a Robert Johnson about whom nothing much is known.²⁷² Although it is evident from the title-page and Johnson's epistle that this is a translation, neither the author's name nor the source language is indicated anywhere. The text is dedicated to Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of Worcester. Although favourable towards the Jesuits in the 1590s, Somerset was later to change tactics, as in September 1604 he was part of a commission for their expulsion.²⁷³ Nevertheless, the dedicatory epistle to him was reprinted in the next five editions between 1601 and 1616.²⁷⁴ What did change significantly about these editions was their length as existing chapters were expanded and new ones added from a variety of unacknowledged sources, including work by Sir Robert Dallington and Jean Bodin.²⁷⁵

In 1630, a final edition appeared of a completely different nature, as is very evident already from the title-page:

Relations of the most famovs kingdoms and Common-wealths thorowout the World: [...] Translated out of the best Italian Impression of Boterus. And since the last Edition by R. I. Now once againe enlarged according to moderne

²⁷² ESTC indicates him as being the author of *Essaies, or rather Imperfect offers* (1601) as well as *Nova Britannia* (1609), a work about Virginia.

²⁷³ Croft, 'Somerset, Edward, fourth earl of Worcester', *ODNB*.

²⁷⁴ STC 3399 (1601), STC 3400 (1603), STC 3401 (1608), STC 3402 (1611), STC 3403 (1616).

²⁷⁵ Shackleton, 406–409.

observation; With Addition of new Estates and Countries. Wherein many of the oversights both of the Author and Translator, are amended. (STC 3404)

Firstly, it is produced by a different printer for a different bookseller and secondly, the epistle to Somerset has disappeared.²⁷⁶ Instead, we find an anonymous epistle to the reader from an editor who is clearly not Robert Johnson. This editor is very keen to acknowledge Botero as the source text, both in his epistle and title-page, and thereby avoid ‘Plagiare, that Enemie and Threatner of our English Nation’ by resolving ‘to name him when they quote him: and that’s faire play’ (STC 3404, A2v). Nevertheless, according to the critic Robert Shackleton, who discussed this very issue, for some of the new additions ‘it sometimes seems likely that they did not come directly from the Italian, but from the French imitation by d’Avity, or the English rendering of d’Avity by Grimstone’.²⁷⁷ If that is indeed the case, the new editor is guilty of some plagiarism himself.

Finally, one English translation is based on an Italian rendering of a Portuguese travel account. *A reporte of the kingdome of Congo, a Region of Africa [...] Drawen out of the writinges and discourses of Odoardo Lopes a Portingall, by Philipppo Pigafetta* [STC 16805] was published in 1597. This work recounts the experiences of Portuguese explorer and settler Duarte Lopes, also known as Odoardo Lopez, who was asked to

²⁷⁶ From Edmund Bollifant for John Jaggard, to John Haviland for John Partridge.

²⁷⁷ Shackleton, 408–409. The new editor actually mentions this work in his epistle to the reader when discussing plagiarism as he says: ‘How much (I pray) hath this voluminous French Writer (translated into Latine by Godofredus, and into English by our Mr. Grimstone) beene beholding unto this Author?’ (STC 3404, A2–A2v). This is a reference to *Estates, empires, et principautez du monde*, a work by Pierre d’Avity, translated into English in 1615 [STC988] by Edward Grimston as *The estates, empires, & principallities of the world*.

give a report on the Congo when on a mission to Rome in 1588.²⁷⁸ It was written down by the papal chamberlain Filippo Pigafetta, who expanded Lopes's tale to include not only the Congo but most of Africa under the title of *Relatione del Reame di Congo* (Rome, 1591).²⁷⁹ The book proved, amongst others, that the equatorial regions were 'not onely habitable, but inhabited, and very temperate', that 'the blacke colour which is in the skinnes [...] proceedeth not from the Sunne', and that 'the Riuer Nilus springeth not out of the mountains of the Moone, as hath been heretofore beleueed' (STC 16805, title-page and *3–*4).

The work was translated into English by Abraham Hartwell, secretary to the archbishop of Canterbury, John Whitgift, who is the dedicatee of this translation. The translation was undertaken at the request of Hakluyt, even though Hartwell was allegedly somewhat reluctant to accept initially, as he tells us in his epistle to the reader.²⁸⁰ However, he was finally persuaded, he says, 'to the end it might be more publikely knowen' (STC 16805, *3r) and because it fit in well with his idea of necessary missionary activity in the newly explored regions. As so often in these texts, the material and the spiritual are intertwined. The English might wish to conquer 'rude and barbarous Nations', he asserts, not for 'transitorie or worldly respectes', but for first seeking 'the Kingdome of God, & the saluation of many thousand soules' (*3r).

²⁷⁸ Penrose, 132 and 283; STC 16805, *2 and *3.

²⁷⁹ Ferrari, 485.

²⁸⁰ DeCoursey, 'Hartwell, Abraham', *ODNB*; Penrose, 132 and 283 and 318; Parks, 165; STC 16805, *.

5. Portuguese

Like the Italian works, the Portuguese number only three and, like them, two of the three are connected with Hakluyt. The first is *Historia do descobrimento & conquista da India pelos Portugueses*, a book written by the Portuguese historian Fernão Lopes de Castanheda.²⁸¹ He compiled this massive work, eight printed volumes in total, from experience and rigorous questioning of witnesses where possible, both in Portugal and in India, where he spent a significant amount of time travelling with his father, who was a judge there.²⁸² Printing of the first volume, which is the only one to be translated into English, was completed on 6 March 1551 at the university of Coimbra and the dedication was to King John III.²⁸³

The English translation, *The first Booke of the historie of the Discouerie and conquest of the East Indias, enterprised by the Portingales* [STC 16806], appeared in 1582. The translator called himself Nicholas Lichefield, but this is possibly a pseudonym for Thomas Nicholls, also known as Thomas Nicholas, a translator and ship owner who served, amongst other occupations, as secretary to the Muscovy Company.²⁸⁴ Although Lichefield translates the original lengthy dedicatory epistle, he precedes it by a dedication of his own, namely to the famous seaman, Sir Francis Drake. He deemed it to be of interested to this great navigator, because, for example, the work contains ‘the discription, not onely of the country, but also of euery harbor appertaining to euery place’ (STC 16806, A2). This, combined with the fact that one of

²⁸¹ In the translation he is called the more Spanish ‘Hernan’, rather than Fernão or Ferdinando.

²⁸² Lopes de Castanheda, *Historia do descobrimento*, Prologo; Penrose, 278–279.

²⁸³ ‘Foy impresso [...] a muyto nobre & leal cidade de Coimbra, por Iohão da Barreyra & Iohão Aluarez, empressores del Rey na mesma vniuersidade. Acabouse aos seys dias do mes de Marco. De M. D. LI.’ (Lopes de Castanheda, *Historia do descobrimento*, R6).

²⁸⁴ Penrose, 279 and 316; Baldwin, ‘Nicholls, Thomas’, *ODNB*.

Castanheda's sources was the rutter used by Vasco da Gama in his first voyage of 1497–1498, certainly explains the appeal for English navigators. Lichefield also offered to translate the next two volumes if it pleased his patron, but that apparently never took place.

The second work has given rise to both some misrepresentations and some conjectures. When Penrose in his chapter on Tudor geographical literature claims that 'only one work was translated from the Portuguese in this period', thereby referring to Castanheda's, he overlooked that of Antonio Galvão.²⁸⁵ The author Galvão was a Portuguese government official who went out to the Indies in 1527 where he was governor of the Moluccas, the Maluku Islands of eastern Indonesia, as well as captain of the fortress of Ternate until his return to Portugal in 1540.²⁸⁶ Christianisation of the islands under his control seems to have been high on the agenda, hence his later title 'Apostle of the Moluccas', and he was known as being 'honest', 'unusually conscientious' and 'enjoy[ing] complete local support' by his efforts to regulate the spice trade and prevent his fellow countrymen from being too greedy.²⁸⁷ The Portuguese authorities clearly did not fully support Galvão's ideology and ethical stance, as he discovered upon his return to Lisbon where he 'found neither fauour, nor yet honor, but onely among the poore and miserable, to wit, in an hospital: where he was kept seunteene yeeres vntill the hower of his death [...] as for a poore courtier

²⁸⁵ Penrose, 316. He mentions the translation of Galvão a few pages later (319) but seems to have forgotten it was translated from Portuguese when he made his earlier statement Castanheda's being the only one of that period.

²⁸⁶ Penrose, 281; Subrahmanyam, 40.

²⁸⁷ Subrahmanyam, 40; Bassett, 153–159. See also Hakluyt's praise for him in STC 11543, A2v.

cast off by all men'.²⁸⁸ He bequeathed his manuscript to a friend, Francisco de Sousa Tavares, who published it six years later, in 1563, as *Tratado. Que compos o nobre & notauel capitão Antonio Galvão* with a dedication to John of Lencastre, first Duke of Aveiro. The *Tratado* describes the discoveries made up until 1555, explored lands, the navigation and routes leading to it, the necessary ports, the commercial possibilities and the people in authority under whom all this took place.

How this work came to be translated into English is not entirely clear. The publication itself is straightforward, however. It was printed at the request of Richard Hakluyt in October 1601 on the advice of Sir Walter Cope, secretary of William Cecil. The book is dedicated to the latter's son, Sir Robert Cecil, which is no great surprise seeing that Cope was his 'trusted friend' and Hakluyt his personal chaplain.²⁸⁹ Penrose's contention that Hakluyt might have been responsible for doing the translation itself, seems highly improbable.²⁹⁰ In his dedicatory epistle, Hakluyt devoted an entire page to lamenting the 'manifold errors of the translator', whom he found 'very defective', and to exclaiming how much time and effort it had cost him to track down possible sources to double check in the absence of the original copy, which he unsuccessfully tried to obtain (STC 11543, A3v). What apparently happened is that 'some honest and well affected merchant of our nation' translated the text at least twelve years before, thus *circa* 1588 or earlier. Parks, who argues that this is one of Hakluyt's 'least important production[s]' seeing how little 'toil' he gave it in comparison to other publications, conjectures that 'the manuscript had somehow

²⁸⁸ Here quoted in the English translation, STC 11543, B2. See also Subrahmanyam, 40; Bassett, 153; Penrose, 281.

²⁸⁹ Allen, 'Cope, Sir Walter', *ODNB*; Payne, 'Hakluyt, Richard', *ODNB*.

²⁹⁰ Penrose, 281–282 and 319.

reached a City counting-room and lodged there [where] it was turned over to Hakluyt, perhaps for good riddance'.²⁹¹ But this does remain simply a conjecture.

In any case, the translation appeared as *The discoveries of the World from their first originall vnto the yeere of our Lord 1555. Briefly written in the Portugall tongue by Antonie Galvano [...] Corrected, quoted, and now published in English by Richard Hakluyt* [STC 11543]. Hakluyt was apparently quite right in his critique of the translator for not being properly acquainted with the Portuguese language. This was argued, amongst others, by Jaime Batalha-Reis in 1897, who wrote that 'in more than one point, the translation goes as far as to say the contrary of the original'.²⁹² To give just one example, it starts by misattributing the original dedicatory epistle. Where the Portuguese text reads 'illustrissimo Senhor dom Iohão Da Lencastro, Duque Daueyro', the English translation has 'Prince Don Iohn Duke of Aueiro' (STC 11543, Br).²⁹³ The former clearly means John of Lencastre, who was the first to receive the title Duke of Aveiro. Even though John was a grandson of King John II through his father, who was the king's natural son, he never had the title of *infante* or Prince. The only Prince John of Portugal in that time period was the crown prince João, son of King John III. This is what the English translation seems to imply, even though João had died in 1554, nine years before this dedicatory epistle was written.

The last work to be translated from Portuguese was actually the account of a Spanish expedition. The *Relaçam verdadeira [...] no descrobrimêto da provincial da Frolida*

²⁹¹ Parks, 215–216.

²⁹² Batalha-Reis, 197. He also deplores the fact that the 1862 edition published by the Hakluyt Society, which reprinted the translation along with the Portuguese original, did not compare the two and thereby did not correct any mistakes.

²⁹³ Galvão, *Tratado*, A2.

[sic] relates the overland expedition of Hernando de Soto from Florida as far inland as Arkansas and Oklahoma, which took place between 1539 and 1543. The aim of de Soto, self-styled governor of Florida, and his six hundred soldiers, was to find the fabled Seven Cities of Gold. Four years went by during which de Soto himself died, along with many others, and no significant riches were obtained.²⁹⁴ The *Relaçam* was written by a Portuguese survivor, known only to us as a ‘gentleman of Elvas’, and was printed in Évora in May 1557.²⁹⁵

This work was translated into English by Richard Hakluyt, seventy years after de Soto’s expedition. Parks wonders why Hakluyt did not bring it out sooner, but speculates that he may only have been able to obtain it after the Treaty of London, when England was at peace with Spain.²⁹⁶ The book was printed in 1609 under the title of *Virginia richly valued, By the description of the maine land of Florida, her next neighbour [...] Wherin are truly obserued the riches and fertilitie of those parts, abounding with things necessarie, pleasant, and profitable* [STC 22938]. So despite de Soto’s fairly disastrous expedition, Hakluyt is here announcing riches. To back this up, he refers extensively to the account of Álvaro Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, who was the cause of de Soto’s mad desire to find gold.²⁹⁷ Although de Vaca’s account was not translated into English, Hakluyt knew it from a 1556 Italian translation by Ramusio.²⁹⁸

²⁹⁴ Penrose, 149; Scammell, 318; Parks, 220–221.

²⁹⁵ For ‘gentleman of Elvas’: STC 22938, titlepage and A4; Penrose, 301; Parks, 220; Adorno, 254–255. For the colophon: STC 22938, Aa2v, where ‘printed in the house of Andrew de Burgos, Printer and Gentleman of the house of my Lord Cardinall the Infante’ refers to Henrique ‘the Chaste’, Archbishop of Évora, Cardinal and later King Henry of Portugal.

²⁹⁶ Parks, 220.

²⁹⁷ Cabeza de Vaca was one of four survivors of the Nárvæz expedition that landed in Florida in 1528. He did not return to Europe until 1537, after having lived amongst the American Indians for several years. It was back in Spain that he met with de Soto, armed with tales of riches and gold. (Adorno, 251–268)

²⁹⁸ STC 22938, A3v; Adorno, 257–259.

This emphasis on the (possibility of) riches makes sense seeing that Hakluyt dedicated his translation to the members of the Virginia Company. His text therefore served as propaganda for new investors and reassurance for old investors, with regard to the fledgling Jamestown colony.²⁹⁹ The epistle seems to suggest that, even though the Spaniards might not have gained much from de Soto's expedition, they had at least discovered potential. To this end, Hakluyt focuses on the various goods and commodities that can be found there, as well as giving advice on how to handle the American Indians, along the lines of 'if gentle polishing will not serue, then we shall not want hammerours and rough masons enow, I meane our old soldiours trained vp in the Netherlands, to square and prepare them to our Preachers hands' (STC 22938, A4).³⁰⁰ Propaganda in April 1609, when the Jamestown settlement was still doing well, was no doubt appropriate but two years later it was less so. In the second edition of 1611, the text and epistle remained unchanged but the book received a new title-page with a new title, *The worthy and famovs history, of the travailes, Discouery, & Conquest, of that great Continent of Terra Florida, being liuely Paraleld, with that of our now Inhabited Virginia* [STC 22939]. No problems there, but then it continues, 'With diuers excellent and rich Mynes, of Golde, Siluer, and other Mettals, &c. which cannot but giue vs a great and exceeding hope of our Virginia, being so neere of one Continent'. Although accurately featuring the potential riches of Florida and the surrounding area, the title is definitely inappropriate and misleading for hopeful investors in Virginia after what came to be known as the 'Starving Time', the winter of

²⁹⁹ Penrose, 301; Parks, 219–221.

³⁰⁰ See also Kupperman, specifically 267–268.

1609–1610, where Jamestown was left with only about twenty percent of its settlers still living and the land did not yield the silver and gold of the southern regions.

6. Latin

The works in our corpus that were translated from Latin occupy a different position from those that were translated from vernacular languages. They differ in three ways. Firstly, there is the question of linguistic status: the hierarchically ‘higher’ status of Latin, a prestige language, sets these works off from those written in the ‘lower’ status of the vernaculars. Secondly, where our corpus is concerned, this linguistic difference has an impact on the type of work being composed; it manifests itself in their contents: books originally published in Latin tend to be of a much more theoretical and descriptive nature, such as geographical histories, for example, than those practical navigation manuals and sailing directions written in a vernacular language. As a result, they also include classical works on geography, such as *The vvorke of Pomponius Mela, the cosmographer, concerning the situation of the world [...] speciallie for gentlemen, marchants, mariners, and trauellers* [STC 17785] and *The excellent and pleasant worke of Iulius Solinus Polyhistor. Containing [...] the description of countries* [STC 22896]. These were both translated by Arthur Golding — the renowned translator of many classical works, most notably Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* — and both printed for Thomas Hacket in 1585 and 1587 respectively.³⁰¹

³⁰¹ Considine, ‘Golding, Arthur’, *ODNB*; Penrose, 1–10; Parker, 134–135.

Finally, aside from the hierarchical status attached to the source language and the resulting differences in subject matter, works written in Latin also had diverse origins. For the books in our corpus that were written in a vernacular language, we can make a general observation that the source language by and large reflected the nationality of the author, that is French works were written by Frenchmen, Spanish by Spaniards, Italian books by Italians, Portuguese by Portuguese authors and Dutch works by people from the Low Countries. This is a rather sweeping generalisation, of course, and there are some exceptions, but it is a useful working notion with regard to our corpus, where navigational publications emerge in a specific national context, which is why I decided to discuss the works in terms of their source language. In contrast, it is impossible to categorise Latin works in this way since they transcend these linguistic and national boundaries, Latin being an international language in the Renaissance, as indeed the following examples will bear out.

Let us examine four texts: three originally written in Latin, and one originally in German but translated into English via a Latin intermediary. Adams and Waters, in their bibliography of maritime books, list no publications from Latin in the category of navigation manuals and just two in that of sailing directions: the latter are an extract from Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia* and Peter Martyr's *De orbe novo*, both translated by Richard Eden. However, two more titles must be added to our corpus: firstly, Jean Taisnier's *De natura magnetis et ejus effectibus*, because it was translated by Eden and sold together with a Cortés edition, and secondly Albrecht Meyer's *Methodus describendi regiones, urbes, et arces*. Meyer's work was not only dedicated to Drake, but Hakluyt was also involved in its publication; last but not least, it was

printed by John Wolfe, whom we have come across a few times already as printer for other works in our corpus.

Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia* was for many decades a bestseller in Germany and indeed across Europe. Münster, a Hebrew scholar, cosmographer and mapmaker, spent twenty years preparing this work before it was finally published in 1544 by his stepson Heinrich Petri in Basel as *Cosmographia. Beschreibu[n]g aller Lender durch Sebastianum Munsterum*.³⁰² This first edition was a real printing achievement as it contained six hundred and sixty pages of text, twenty-four large maps, and almost five hundred woodcuts that were incorporated in the text.³⁰³ A Latin translation first appeared six years later, in 1550, by which point the work had expanded dramatically and now included about nine hundred and fifty woodcuts. It was again printed in Basel by Petri, now entitled *Cosmographiae uniuersalis Lib. VI*.³⁰⁴

It is from this Latin version that Richard Eden made his first translation. Although the whole *Cosmographia* was divided into six books, Eden selected only a portion of the fifth to be translated, namely 'De terris Asiæ Maioris', or, as he described it, 'of the la[n]des of Asia the greater, and of the newe founde lands, and Ilandes' (M6r). The entire English translation, entitled *A treatyse of the newe India, with other new founde lands and Ilandes [...] after the descripcion of Sebastian Munsters in his booke of vniuersall Cosmographie*, was printed by Steven Mierdman for Edward Sutton in 1553 [STC 18244]. Eden dedicated it to John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, who invested in what has been called 'England's first officially

³⁰² Penrose, 309; Hodgen, 506–508.

³⁰³ Wessel, 266.

³⁰⁴ Wessel, 289–290.

sponsored voyage of discovery to attempt to find the north-east passage' that same year.³⁰⁵

This voyage was the first endeavour of the Merchant Adventurers (the later Muscovy Company) to reach China, or Cathay as it was called, via the northeast. It was promoted by John Dee, one of the most prominent astronomers and mathematicians of the Elizabethan age as well as an expert in navigation, and Sebastian Cabot, cartographer to Henry VIII, explorer and a friend of Eden's, while several London merchants also invested in it. To mark this important event, the excerpt from the *Cosmographia* was translated and published.³⁰⁶ This explains why Eden chose only the section on Asia, as that was the explorers' destination. The reality turned out differently, however, as a storm separated the ships. Sir Hugh Willoughby passed the North Cape and discovered Novaya Zemlya, or Nova Zembla, but perished with all his men in Lapland on account of the harsh Arctic winter.³⁰⁷ Richard Chancellor, on the other hand, sailed into the White Sea and continued overland from Archangel to Moscow, where he managed to negotiate crucial trading privileges with Ivan the Terrible.³⁰⁸ So despite its failure to reach China, the Willoughby-Chancellor expedition opened up important trade opportunities with Russia.

Eden's second translation was on a similar topic, discoveries of the New World, yet of a much more ambitious nature. Entitled *The decades of the newe worlde or west India [...] Wrytten in the Latine tounge by Peter Martyr of Angleria* [STC 645], this

³⁰⁵ Loades, 'Dudley, John, Duke of Northumberland (1504-1553)', *ODNB*. See also Kuin, 553; Householder, 17; Penrose, 171; Hadfield, 'Peter Martyr, Richard Eden and the New World', 12–13.

³⁰⁶ Parks, 21; Parker, 39–40; Householder, 17.

³⁰⁷ McDermott, 'Willoughby, Sir Hugh', *ODNB*. This means that the English reached Novaya Zemlya some forty years before the Dutch expeditions of Willem Barentsz (see p. 103).

³⁰⁸ Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, 85–86; Penrose, 171–172; Parker, 38–40; McDermott, 'Chancellor, Richard', *ODNB*.

publication, which appeared in 1555, went far beyond a straightforward translation of Martyr's work. It is in fact a compilation of various accounts from mainly Spanish and Italian sources.³⁰⁹ Although compilations such as those by Hakluyt and Purchas are not included in our corpus, I have decided to retain this particular one since it presents itself as a translation of just one work, Martyr's *Decades*. However, this means that I shall focus only on this particular Latin account; it would lead us too far to discuss the accounts by other authors found in this publication.

Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, or Peter Martyr as he is most commonly known in English, was an Italian who spent most of his life at the Spanish Court as a teacher and chronicler. Intent on documenting the history of the New World exploration (in general), Martyr received first-hand information from Christopher Columbus, which he had printed in 1504 in Venice by Albertino da Lessona.³¹⁰ This account of Columbus's first three voyages, *Libretto de tutta la nauigatione de re de Spagna de le isole et terreni nouamente trouati*, became Martyr's first 'decade'. Although initially written in Italian, a Latin version followed in 1511 and the later decades were all composed in Latin. All eight decades finally appeared together in 1530 in Alcalá de Henares, printed by Miguel de Eguia. It is, however, the 1516 edition, *De orbe nouo decades*, also printed in Alcalá but by Arnao Guillén de Brocar, that formed the basis of Eden's translation.³¹¹

This 1516 Latin edition contained Martyr's first three decades. In Eden's 1555 translation, *The decades of the newe worlde or west India*, they constitute only 40%, or

³⁰⁹ For an overview of these, see Parker, 45–48; Parks, 22–23; Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, 86–87.

³¹⁰ Penrose, 291–292.

³¹¹ Parker, 51. Brennan argues instead that Eden probably used the 1533 Basle edition, which was based on the 1516 Alcalá edition (236). For a detailed bibliographical history of Martyr's publications, see Brennan, 228–235.

332 pages, of the entire work. The other accounts of this compilation amount to 392 pages or 49%, while the remaining 9%, or seventy-four pages, include the paratexts and tables of contents preceding and following the main work.³¹² The paratexts include Eden's Latin dedication to Philip and Mary I, his English address to the reader, and Martyr's dedication to Charles V, which is signed from Madrid, 30 September 1516. Much attention has been devoted to Eden's paratexts and how he presented Spain's achievements in relation to his hopes for England, which was a potentially dangerous topic given Mary's unpopular Spanish marriage.³¹³ Four different issues of this publication appeared in 1555, produced by the same printer, William Powell, but for four different booksellers (see p. 243): Robert Toy, Richard Jugge, William Seres and Edward Sutton [STC 645–648].

Some twenty years later, Eden was working on a revised edition but he died in 1576 before it was finished. The task of completing the new edition went to Richard Willes, 'his literary executor'.³¹⁴ Willes, having returned from his studies on the Continent a few years earlier, had found a patron in the powerful and well-connected Russell family and dedicated this publication to Lady Bridget, Countess of Bedford, wife of Lord Francis Russell, herself a prominent social figure.³¹⁵ Both Eden and Willes added a great number of new accounts and texts to the compilation, especially adding more information about China. This was done with an eye to Martin Frobisher's voyages to find the Northwest Passage to China, which took place in 1576, 1577 and

³¹² These calculations are based on STC 645, where Martyr's three decades cover the quires A–2T2.

³¹³ See for example Hart, 56–69; Cañizares-Esguerra, 72–73; Borge, 49–51; Householder, 17ff; Parker, 44–45; and, especially, Boruchoff, 'The Politics of Providence', 108–112, as well as the debate between Hadfield, 'Peter Martyr, Richard Eden and the New World', 14–18, Jowitt, Brennan, and Hadfield, 'Richard Eden and Peter Martyr: Author's Response'.

³¹⁴ Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, 176–177.

³¹⁵ Parkers, 97; Payne, 'Willes, Richard', *ODNB*.

1578 and were sponsored by the newly-formed Company of Cathay and its treasurer Michael Lok.³¹⁶ Where Martyr's *Decades* are concerned, Willes added an abridged version of the remaining accounts but, unlike Eden's first edition, the focus was no longer on Martyr's work or on the fact that it was a translation, as we can discern from the change in the title to *The History of Trauayle in the VWest and East Indies [...]* *VWith a discourse of the Northwest passage* [STC 649]. This work appeared in 1577 and was printed by Richard Jugge.

If we leave Eden's and Willes's compilations and return to Martyr's *De orbe novo*, the next step in our story concerns a Latin edition done by Richard Hakluyt a decade later, in 1587, which contained all eight decades. This is obviously not a translation and therefore not in our corpus, but it forms the foundation for our next translation, which I shall come to shortly. Although it had been fifty-seven years already since the first complete Latin edition of Martyr's work and it was well-known throughout Europe, Hakluyt made his edition, printed in Paris by G. Auvray, much more user-friendly: he corrected previous mistakes, added marginal notes and prepared an index.³¹⁷

Hakluyt's Latin edition was translated by his friend, the merchant adventurer Michael Lok, who had lost so much money in the Frobisher expedition that the majority of his life was spent in debt.³¹⁸ In the last decade of the sixteenth century, Lok lived and worked abroad, first in Aleppo, and then in Venice, before returning to England in 1602.³¹⁹ It is possible that he was already busy with the translation

³¹⁶ Penrose, 175–178 and 315; Parker, 79–81; McDermott, 'Lok, Michael', *ODNB*; Brennan, 237–238.

³¹⁷ Mancall, 174–178; Parks, 115–177; Brennan, 238–240.

³¹⁸ Parker, 208–209; Parks, 222–223.

³¹⁹ McDermott, 'Lok, Michael', *ODNB*; Brennan, 240–241.

throughout these years.³²⁰ In any case, *De Nouo Orbe, or the histories of the west Indies [...] Comprised in eight Decades* [STC 650] appeared in 1612, when Lok was eighty years old, with a dedication, in Latin, to his stepson, the judge Sir Julius Caesar. The title-page furthermore explains that ‘three [Decades] haue beene formerly translated into English, by R. Eden, whereunto the other fiue, are newly added by the Industrie, and painefull Trauaile of M. Lok Gent.’. Lok’s use of Eden’s translation for the first part of this work also extended to his inclusion of ‘Certaine Preambles [...] gathered by R. Eden heretofore’ (B3r-B6v). The 1612 translation was reprinted twice, as *The Historie of the West-Indies* in around 1625 [STC 651] and as *The famovs historie of the Indies* [STC 652] in 1628, by which point both Lok and Hakluyt had long since died.³²¹ It is noteworthy that as the words ‘Wrytten in the Latine tongue’ in Eden’s original 1555 title disappeared in the 1577 revised edition, so too part of the original Latin title, *De nouo orbe*, included in Lok’s 1612 English title, was dropped in the 1625 and 1628 reprints. True, there is no attempt to hide the fact that the works are translations, nevertheless the omission of the Latin adds to the ‘englishing’ of Martyr’s work. It might be interesting to see, in a different study, whether this dropping of Latin in titles conforms to a trend in non-literary works in general but this avenue of enquiry is beyond the bounds of the present thesis.

Before English authors such as Robert Norman and William Gilbert started publishing on magnetism (see p. 35), Richard Eden translated a small work on that very topic, namely Jean Taisnier’s *De natura magnetis et ejus effectibus*. The Latin original was published in Cologne by Johann Birckmann in 1562. Taisnier was a native of Ath,

³²⁰ Parks, 223.

³²¹ Brennan, 241–242.

in the province Hainaut (in present-day Belgium); he studied in Louvain before joining the chapel of Emperor Charles V. Travelling throughout Spain and Italy, Taisnier also taught languages and mathematics besides pursuing his musical career.³²² At the time of this publication, however, he was *Kapellmeister* for Johann Gebhard, the Archbishop of Cologne. *De natura magnetis* was a compilation of the available knowledge of magnetism at the time but also included information on such topics as the tides and the influence of hull shape on a ship's speed.³²³ Useful as all this knowledge might have been, according to Waters, 'the manner of treatment was so repetitive and unnecessarily involved that it is doubtful whether any but the most studious seamen would care to work out the full import of the arguments'.³²⁴

Nevertheless, the printer Richard Jugge thought there would be an English-speaking audience for Taisnier's work and he asked Eden to translate it as a companion to Martin Cortés's *Breue compendio* or *Arte of navigation*, as we can read in Eden's dedication to Sir William Winter. The son of a merchant and sea captain, Winter was a naval administrator who was appointed master of the naval ordnance in 1557 and spent a large part of his life at sea in royal service.³²⁵ When exactly Eden met with Jugge and translated this work is not entirely clear but it was probably between 1572 and 1574.³²⁶ This English version, entitled *A very necessarie and profitable Booke concerning Nauigation* [STC 23659], was printed a few years later. Most accounts claim it

³²² Palisca, 133–134.

³²³ There appears, however, to have been a very thin line between compilation and plagiarism as far as the section on magnetism is concerned, since most of it was borrowed from a 1269 manuscript, 'Epistola de Magnete', by Petrus Peregrinus. See Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, 150; Heninger, 250; Palisca, 134–135.

³²⁴ Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, 151.

³²⁵ Loades, 'Winter, William', *ODNB*.

³²⁶ Heninger provides 1572 as a date (250), while both Gwyn (33) and Hadfield ('Eden, Richard', *ODNB*) state 1574.

appeared in 1579, together with the fourth edition of Cortés's work, citing the deaths of both Eden (1576) and Jugge (1577) as the reason for this delay.³²⁷ However, the book itself is undated and both the *STC* and the *ESTC* give 1575 as a conjectured date of publication.

We shall conclude this section with Albrecht Meyer's *Methodus describendi regiones, urbes, et arces*. Meyer, or Albertus Meierus as he Latinised his name, was a Dane who had travelled throughout Europe, mainly overland, and gathered his experiences in a traveller's handbook.³²⁸ This booklet was produced at the request of Henry Ranzou, governor of Schleswig and counsellor to the Danish King, and published in Helmstedt by Jakob Lucius in 1587. It is divided into twelve sections (cosmography, astronomy, geography, chorography, topography, husbandry, the political, the ecclesiastical, literature, histories, and chronicles), each consisting of a numbered list of items to which the traveller should pay attention. This very practical checklist for travellers was translated into English by the Reverend Philip Jones of Cirencester, a friend of Richard Hakluyt's. *Certaine briefe, and speciall Instructions for Gentlemen, merchants, students, souldiers, mariners, &c. Employed in seruices abrode, or any way occasioned to conuerse in the kingdoms, and gouernementes of forren Princes* appeared in 1589 and was printed by John Wolfe [STC 17784].

At Hakluyt's suggestion, Jones dedicated it to Sir Francis Drake, or, as Jones wrote: 'I was motioned to reme[m]ber your self in the impressio[n] of this Method, by my very good and learned friend, M. Richard Hackluit' (A3v). It is possible that Hakluyt was also the instigator of the translation as a whole and may have helped pay for it, as

³²⁷ Heninger, 250; Gwyn, 33; Hadfield, 'Eden, Richard', *ODNB*; Tedder, 'Jugge, Richard', *ODNB*.

³²⁸ Parks, 120.

Parks has ventured, but hitherto no evidence has been found to support this hypothesis.³²⁹ With the exception of Julie Solomon and especially Eugene Kintgen, both of whom focus on drawing parallels between the structure of these *Certaines briefes, and speciall Instructions* and Elizabethan modes of reading, critics have paid little attention to this translation, other than to make the occasional reference to it in writings on Hakluyt or Drake.³³⁰ Given the current interest in travel literature of all kinds, this translation could benefit from further investigation.

7. Patterns

So far we have discussed the texts in this corpus individually in the previous six sections, arranged by source language and subtopic. It is time now to take a step back and look at the overall picture. Through rigorous bibliographical research, we have been able to ascertain the publication details of every translation in our corpus as well as, where possible, its source text. This allows us to establish exactly how big a gap there was between the two publication dates, namely how many years it took for the source text to end up in print for the first time in the English language. The following graph (fig. 5), lists all forty-three unique titles of this corpus, fifteen of the core plus twenty-eight of the expansion, with a bar indicating the number of years delay in publication.

³²⁹ Parks, 120. See also Parker, 140–141, who mentions no payment but writes that Hakluyt was instrumental in encouraging Jones.

³³⁰ Solomon, 521; Kintgen, 5–16.

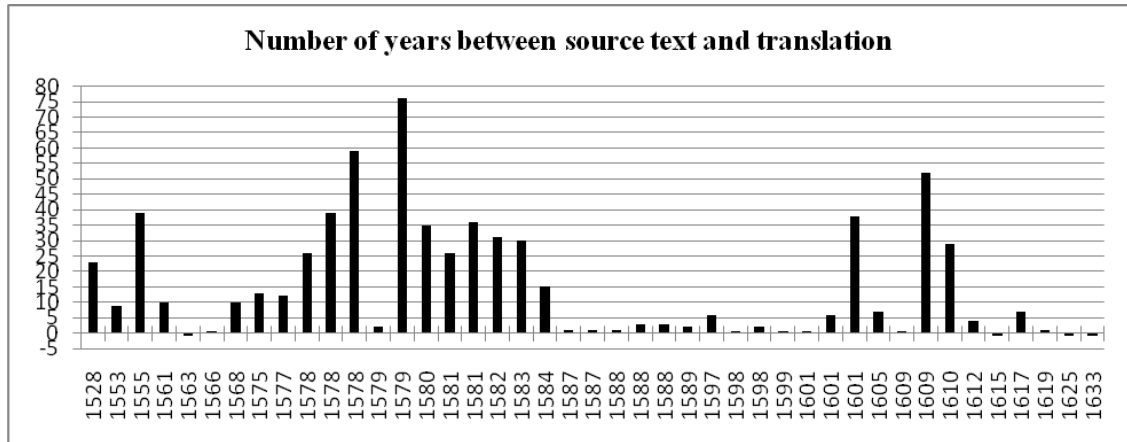


Fig. 5: Delay between publication of the source text and its English translation

Immediately striking is the fact that up to the mid-1580s, with very few exceptions, the delay was well over ten years. In fact, the highest peak is a staggering seventy-six years in the case of the account of Marco Polo's travels. In this period, from 1528 to 1585, there is an average delay between the publication of a source text and its English translation of twenty-five years. From 1585 onwards, the delay is only about two years on average. The three exceptions to this quick turnover, however, are two Portuguese accounts both found and translated or edited by Richard Hakluyt — Galvão's history of discoveries and the account of de Soto's expedition in the New World — and the Spanish navigational work by Zamorano, which Edward Wright included in one of his own publications (see p. 73).

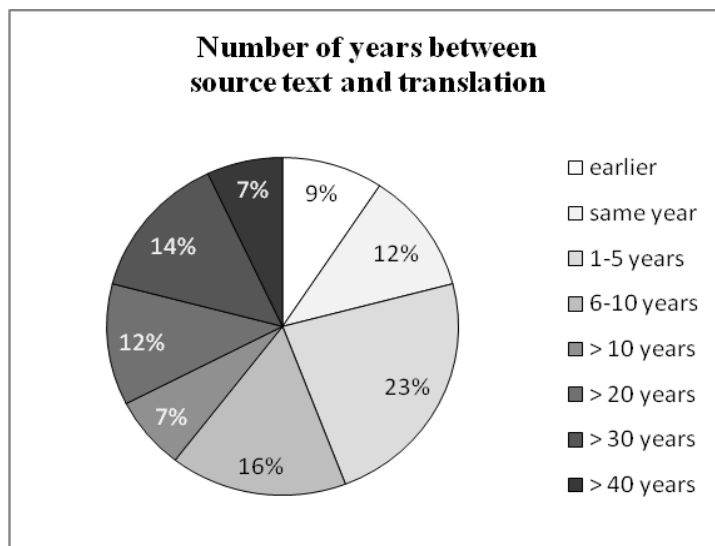


Fig. 6: Average delay in publication expressed in percentages

In total, 60% of the works in our corpus were translated and printed within ten years (fig. 6). A fifth of all translations were printed in the same year as their source text or, as for example in the case of Ribault's account on Florida (see p. 54), appeared even before publication in their source language. This stems in part from beneficial political situations that allowed for travel between continental Europe and England, making it possible to not only procure source texts but also bring them to England.

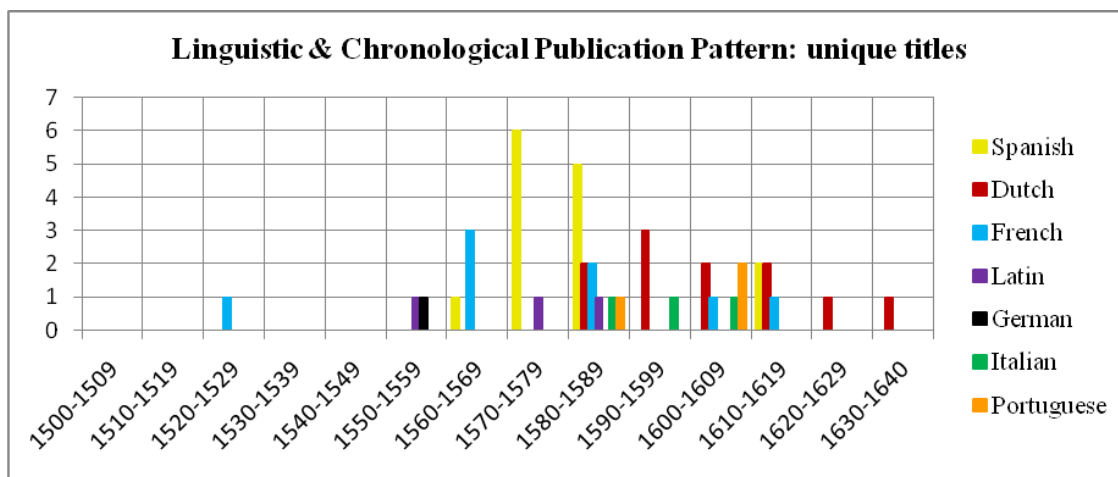


Fig. 7: Linguistic and chronological publication pattern per decade without later editions

The shift to speedier translation and publication, found to be starting in the 1580s, is also reflected in fig. 7. From the graph we can learn that this decade is not only the one with the largest number of navigational works being translated into English for the first time (twelve out of forty-three) but also the most linguistically diverse as we find translations out of all but one of the source languages. This reflects a growing interest in navigation and exploration as well as a keen desire, supported and stimulated by people like Richard Hakluyt, to accumulate the best possible expertise and make it available to all involved as quickly as possible.

CHAPTER 3

PARATEXTS

‘Marginal texts are no longer of marginal importance’, says critic Michael Saenger and he is right.³³¹ Ever since Gérard Genette coined the phrase ‘paratext’ in his seminal work *Seuils*, or in its English translation *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, much attention has been paid to such texts. Although ‘it has become a critical commonplace to suggest that Genette’s survey of paratextual possibilities is insufficiently attentive to historical difference and change’, most of his terminologies and concepts are still relevant.³³² Gérard Genette attempts to list and describe every possible kind of paratext. By paratext, he means in essence everything that is ‘around’ the text in question but not actually the main body of it. Or, in his own words,

the paratext is what enables a text to become a book and to be offered as such to its readers and, more generally, to the public. More than a boundary or a sealed border, the paratext is, rather, a *threshold*, or — a word Borges used apropos of a preface — a ‘vestibule’ that offers the world at large the possibility of either stepping inside or turning back. It is an ‘undefined zone’ between the inside and the outside, a zone without any hard and fast boundary on either the inward side (turned toward the text) or the outward side (turned toward the world’s discourse about the text), an

³³¹ Saenger, 13.

³³² *Renaissance Prefaces*, 2. See also Saenger, 15.

edge, or, as Philippe Lejeune put it ‘a fringe of the printed text which in reality controls one’s whole reading of the text’.³³³

Genette then further divides paratexts into two categories: peritexts are those materials that are closest to the main body of the text and can be found in the actual book; epitexts are those elements further away from the text yet still surrounding it, such as interviews or the author’s correspondence or notebooks. In this chapter I shall only examine peritexts.

Genette organised peritexts into different categories and subcategories, varying from paratexts added by the publisher, to the author’s name, titles, inserts, dedications and inscriptions, epigraphs, prefaces, intertitles and notes. As far as titles are concerned, I will not go into their role as paratexts since they do not form a part of the networks I will explore later in this thesis. Nevertheless, it would be foolish to underestimate their importance. One could research the correlation between the title of the source text and its translated version, for example, or their potential for attracting buyers and readers. One further angle could be the lexical similarities between the titles of works on navigation and/or how they compare to other genres.³³⁴ Interesting as this may be, it would lead me too far on this occasion.

Renaissance paratexts are now being recognised as fulfilling the role of a ‘disguised advertisement’, where advertising in early modern terms means ‘to make

³³³ Genette, 1–2.

³³⁴ One such example would be the use of ‘speculum’, ‘mirror’ and ‘looking glass’, which Shevlin discusses in her article, 50ff. Another example, which I have alluded to here and there in the second chapter, is the misleading presence of such terms as ‘joyful’ in the titles of translations discussed here. As Marie Maclean says, titles ‘may deliberately obscure or mislead’ (276). On the use of title-pages as advertisements, see Voss, 737-738. See also Saenger, who writes that ‘advertising a text often means misrepresenting it’ (20).

generally known'.³³⁵ As advertisements, paratexts informed (potential) buyers about new knowledge to be found in the book, but they could also be used for 'promoting reputations, establishing expertise, [...] and encouraging investment'.³³⁶ This is especially relevant for the navigational works discussed here. As critic Paul Voss argues, 'technical expertise became a service desired by others' and, thanks to the medium of print, 'knowledge could be captured, packaged, and sold' fairly easily.³³⁷ Once a customer had bought a book and became a reader, paratexts could 'form a lens through which the reader views the text and assesses its relationship to its public audience', or, as Marie Maclean writes, 'they are informing, persuading, advising, or indeed exhorting and commanding the reader'.³³⁸

So, paratexts in the Renaissance both promoted the book to a potential buyer and shaped the way a reader approached the text. Where translations are concerned specifically, paratexts written by the translator 'offer a wide variety of perspectives on the problems and duties of the translator', which is something I will explore later in this chapter (see p. 157).³³⁹ Through an analysis of the paratexts, we are able to understand better the context of the text's production, which, in turn, leads us to a fuller appreciation of the translation itself.

The majority of research into Renaissance paratexts has been on works of a literary nature. Interesting as this is, 'literary' works, however one defines them, are still only a subset of all the books published during this timeframe.³⁴⁰ Since they have

³³⁵ Saenger, 36 and 55.

³³⁶ Voss, 734.

³³⁷ Voss, 747.

³³⁸ Wall, *The Imprint of Gender*, 174; Maclean, 274.

³³⁹ Saenger, 99.

³⁴⁰ See for example Saenger, 17-18 for a brief discussion of applying the label 'literary' to Renaissance publications.

received a disproportionate amount of attention, it is high time to redress the balance somewhat. Renaissance translation has been discussed in a similar fashion, with the bulk of the research devoting itself to literary texts. This is why I feel that a study of Renaissance paratexts in not just non-literary texts and not just translations, but in translations of non-literary works, can help broaden our horizons.

The paratexts I shall discuss in this chapter are, briefly, title-pages, and, in far more detail, dedications and addresses to the reader (which Genette classes as a subset of dedications).³⁴¹ I shall also mention liminary poems where relevant. I have identified two different categories of dedications and addresses to the reader. The first comprises those texts that originally accompanied the source text and have been reproduced along with the translation. They are mostly written by the author, but on occasion also by the printer of the source text or even by an intermediary translator. They are all translated into English, in order to bring them within reach of the English audience. The second category comprises those dedications and addresses to the reader that were created specifically to accompany the translated work. A clear majority were written by the translators themselves, which is not surprising. However, a few are due to later editors and, in one case, a printer. The length of these texts varies greatly from about one page up to thirteen pages in some cases. Richard Eden's in particular, are long and verbose. I shall begin this examination of the paratextual materials with an introductory section on some title-pages, which form part of the publisher's peritext.

³⁴¹ Genette, 133.

1. Title-pages

Since title-pages of this corpus of texts are not my main concern, I shall not discuss them in great detail, although they are important for they announce both the text and the various people involved in its production. The title-page also advertises the book's value as a commercial object and as such the title itself 'can act as a pretext, as when a title compels a browser to buy an unfamiliar work by an unknown author'.³⁴² Title-pages can include a host of elements, starting obviously with the title itself, but also the author's name, the printer's name and address, the bookseller's name and address, the dedicatee's name, a brief summary of the contents of the work, the year of publication and, finally, illustrations. The presence of all of this information meant that the title-page 'introduced another level of relationships among creators, readers, and texts by implicitly redefining these associations as interactions among producers, consumers, and products'.³⁴³ In this section, I shall explore one of these elements, namely illustrations.

The majority of the title-pages in this corpus do not contain illustrations per se, possibly because they were expensive. They do, however, exhibit a wide array of decorative borders and elements as well as printer's devices, the marks used by printers to establish their identities. Those that are illustrated feature, unsurprisingly, a ship. We find one ship each on the title-pages of *The Description of a voyage made by certaine Ships of Holland into the East Indies* (STC 15193) and Jacob Corneliszoon van Neck's *The Iovrnall, or dayly Register* (STC 18417), and even two on that of Willem Janszoon

³⁴² Shevlin, 43.

³⁴³ Shevlin, 46.

Blaeu's *The Sea-Mirroure* (STC 3113). A ship is also present on the title-pages of the 1596 and 1615 editions of Cortés's *The Arte of Nauigation* (STC 5803 and 5805) as well as in seven editions of *The Safegard of Sailers*. Of the latter, four (STC 21546, 21546.5, 21547 and 21549) portray the same ship as appears in the 1596 Cortés edition;³⁴⁴ the other three each have a different illustration (STC 21545, 21548 and 21550).

There is another cluster of similar title-pages featuring the same kind of layout. The three that bear the most resemblance are Lucas Jansz Waghenauer's *The Mariners Mirroure* (STC 24931), the 1630 Cortés edition (STC 5805.5) and the 1640 *Safegard of Saylers* (STC 21551). These all feature a globe at the very top of the title-page, navigation instruments in the corners or elsewhere, the text encased in a separate frame or vignette in the centre and a ship at the bottom (or, two vessels in the case of the Cortés). On either side of the framed text, a male figure demonstrates a navigational instrument: for Cortés and *The Safegard of Saylers* it is the cross-staff, for Waghenauer it is the lead line. A somewhat similar *mise-en-page* is used for the title-page of Jan Huygen van Linschoten's *Discours of Voyages* (STC 15691).³⁴⁵ It replicates three of the five features just mentioned: navigational instruments in the top corners, a framed text in the centre and a ship at the bottom; it also offers variations of two others recurrent themes: the figures on either side of the framed text are now kings (the sovereigns of Cochin and Tangil) while the English royal coat of arms replaces the globe. However, the navigational instruments held by the two figures in the other texts have also been replaced by coats of arms. Margery Corbett and R. W. Lightbown argue

³⁴⁴ All are printed by Edward Allde, two of them for Hugh Astley.

³⁴⁵ This title-page is described in great detail in chapter 4 of Corbett & Lightbown, 81-89.

that ‘the royal arms and motto invite the patronage of the Queen’, while the two smaller coats of arms represent the claims of Lambeth Palace and the City of London, that is, Christian faith and trade; thus they put this publication right at the very core of England.³⁴⁶ Finally, the title-page of Blaeu’s *The Light of Navigation* (STC 3110, 3111, 3112 and 3112.5) also belongs in this cluster, although again it contains variations. It puts the framed text in the centre and portrays a figure on either side: to the left is a man holding (but not demonstrating) a cross-staff, to the right a man holding a lead line. The globe at the top is omitted as is the ship at the bottom, which has been replaced by a view of Amsterdam, reflecting the fact that it was printed there.

Only a handful of other title-pages contain illustrations. The 1555 issues of Peter Martyr’s *The Decades of the newe worlde or west India* (STC 645, 646 and 647) have an elaborate decorative border which includes at the bottom two figures riding an elephant. The 1603 edition of Giovanni Botero (STC 3400) portrays a celestial map or compass of some sort with the bright star Canopus in the southern hemisphere and Helice, an ancient name for the Ursa Major constellation, in the northern. A map of the southern tip of America is present on the title-page of Willem Cornelisz Schouten’s *The relation of a Wonderfull Voiage* (STC 21828). It shows exactly what the title announces: ‘how South from the Straights of Magelan, in Terra Del-fuogo: he found and discovered a newe passage through the great South Sea, and that way sayled round about the world’. Finally, Agustín de Zárate’s *The strange and delectable History of the discoverie and Conquest of the Prouinces of Peru, in the South Sea* (STC 26123) has two title-pages. The second is the more standard, containing the full title, the translator’s name and a more detailed colophon. It is set in a decorative, figurative

³⁴⁶ Corbett & Lightbown, 88-89.

border with, amongst others, a figure on either side of the framed text. The first title-page, however, has only the brief title, *The discoverie and conquest of the Prouinces of PERU, and the Nauigation in the South Sea, along that Coast*, and some print details but a large illustration of ‘The riche mines of Potossi’. It must have served to draw the attention of the buying public, much like cover art today.

2. Paratexts originally accompanying source texts

Just over one third of the corpus, namely fifteen books, contains one or more paratexts written to accompany the source text, rather than the translated work. They include dedications, addresses to the reader and liminary poems. The dedications constitute the greatest number, appearing in twelve works. There are five addresses to the reader and only two liminary poems.

Almost all the dedications were written by the author and addressed to monarchs, important members of the court, or high-ranking religious figures. Among the Portuguese works, two retain their original dedications in English translation. The first is to King John III, ‘To the most high and mightie Prince our King and souereigne, Don John, the third’ (A–A4r), by historian Fernão Lopes de Castanheda to accompany his massive eight-volume work on the history of the discovery and conquest of the East Indies, of which only the first volume, *The first Booke of the historie of the Discouerie and conquest of the East Indias, enterprised by the Portingales*, was translated into English. The other Portuguese dedication, ‘Francis de Sousa Tauares vnto the high and mightie Prince Don Iohn Duke of Aueiro’ (B–B2v), is addressed to John of Lencastre,

first Duke of Aveiro and grandson of King John II of Portugal; it is found in Antonio Galvão's treatise on the Portuguese discoveries, *The discoveries of the World from their first originall vnto the yeere of our Lord 1555*. However, it was not written by the author himself. Instead, it was his friend Francisco de Sousa Tavares who edited the manuscript and wrote the dedication.

Charles V was honoured with two dedications. The first, 'To the moste noble Prince and Catholike kynge, Charles' (d3v–d4v), was by Peter Martyr in his *De orbe novo*, translated in 1555 as *The decades of the newe worlde or west India*; the second was by Martín Cortés, 'The epistle dedicatorie of Martin Cortes, to the most mightie and victorious Monarch Charles the Emperour, the fyfte of that name, Kynge of Spaine. &c.' (A1–A4r) for his *Breue compendio de l'arte de navegar* available in 1561 as *The Arte of Navigation*. His son, Philip II of Spain, also received two dedications. One was by the cosmographer Pedro de Medina, 'The epistle dedicatorie to the right excellent and renowned [sic] Lorde, Don Philip Prince of Spaine, and of both Siciles, &c.' (¶2v–¶3r) in his *Arte de nauegar*, entitled *The Arte of Nauigation* in English in 1581; the other was 'The Prologue of the Bishop Frier Bartholomewe de las Casas or Casaus, to the most high and mightie prince, our Lord Don Philip Prince of Spaine' (¶¶2v–¶¶4r), written by Dominican missionary Bartolomé de Las Casas to accompany his *Breuissima relacion*, first published in English in 1581 as *The Spanish Colonie*. Another Spanish court figure who received a dedication was Francisco de los Cobos y Molina, Secretary of State under the emperor Charles, to whom Antonio de Guevara dedicated his history of the art of navigation. In English, the work was entitled *A booke of the inuention of the Art of Nauigation* and its dedication, 'A Letter Missiue, or Dedicatorie of the Authour, vnto the renowned [sic] sir Fraunces de la Cobos' (Bb5v–

Bb7r). The last Spanish dedicatee is found in the work of Spanish cleric, Bernardino de Escalante, *Discvrso de la navegacion qve los Portugueses hazen à los Reinos y Prouincias del Oriente* or *A discourse of the nauigation which the Portugales doe make*. Escalante sent his greetings to the archbishop of Seville, Cristobal de Rojas y Sandoval, and his dedication was entitled in the English translation ‘To the excellent Lorde, Don Christopher de Roias, Sandouall, Archbishop of Seuill’ (A3v).

Two further archbishops are in the list of dedicatees. One is Cardinal Jean Bertrand, archbishop of Sens and Keeper of the Seals of France, who is praised by the author of *Les singularitez de la France antarctique*, explorer and royal cosmographer André Thevet. Translated into English as *The new found worlde, or Antarctike*, the work retains the dedication, ‘To my Lord the Right reuerend Cardinall of Sens, keper of the great seales of France’ (A1–A2r). The second is Johann Gebhard von Mansfeld-Vorderort, archbishop and Prince-Elector of Cologne, who received a dedication from his *Kapellmeister* Jean Taisnier in his treatise on magnetism and navigation, *De natura magnetis et ejus effectibus*. The translator entitles it in his *A very necessarie and profitable booke concerning Nauigation*, ‘To the right Reuerende father in Christe, and honourable Prince, Lorde Iohn Gebhard, of the Earles of Mansfelt, &c. Archbishop of Colen, Prince elector’ (**5r–**5v).

The last two dedications are addressed to less illustrious men. The account of Cornelis de Houtman’s expedition, *Iournael vande reyse der Hollandtsche schepen ghedaen in Oost Indien*, translated in 1598 as *The description of a voyage made by certaine Ships of Holland into the East Indies*, includes one ‘To the Bayliefes, Burghemaisters, & Counsell of the Towne of Middelborgh in Zeelande’ (A3–A4v), written by the printer Barent Langenes. Finally, the carpenter Nicolas le Challeux

dedicated his account of the defeat of the French colony in Florida, *Discours et histoire de ce qui est advenu en la Floride*, to an unnamed friend. The translator included it, ‘The Authour to his friend’ (A2–A4v), in his translation, *A true and perfect description, of the last voyage or Nauigation, attempted by Capitaine Iohn Rybaut*.

In thirteen of these dedications, the dedicatees’ illustriousness is most certainly the reason why they were translated and included in the publication. They give greater authority, and as a consequence point up the importance of the author and the significance of the work itself, making it a good selling point for publishers hoping to increase their buying public. A different matter is the address to the reader found in far fewer books. There is no immediate reason to translate this since it adds no prestige to the work and is more likely to be culture-specific, therefore being less easy to fit automatically into the new context of the translation. Moreover, the translator often wrote his own address to the reader. He might well have wanted to comment on questions of translation, for example, explaining methods or reasons for choice, as we shall see in more detail in the last section of this chapter. In this corpus, three out of the five addresses to the reader that originally accompanied source texts are found in works where other paratexts (dedications and/or liminary poems) were also translated, namely in the translations of Thevet’s *Les singularitez de la France antarctique*, de Las Casas’s *Breuissima relacion*, and Waghenaeer’s *Spiegel der Zeevaerdt*. In these cases, the translator may well have thought the paratexts formed one ensemble.

The ‘Admonition to the Reader’ (*3r), which is found in the translation of Thevet’s work, contains nothing out of the ordinary other than perhaps an apology for the use of language here and there that the editor blames on the author’s fever and illness upon his

return. Waghenauer's 'admonition to the reader' in *The Mariner's Mirrour* (¶2r) is of interest because it imparts his desire and gratitude to have his work known and well-received abroad. He was especially pleased by the English who considered his work 'worthy to be translated and Printed' (¶2r).³⁴⁷ The address 'To the reader' found in de Las Casas's *The Spanish Colonie* (¶2–¶¶r) is of a different nature still since it was not written by the author but rather by the intermediary translator, Jacques de Miggrode (see p. 86). The Fleming wrote it as a 'warning to the xij. Prouinces of the lowe Countries' (¶2r) in his French translation of de Las Casas's work.³⁴⁸ The English translator must have found it a worthwhile warning for the English as well, since he made the effort to translate these seven pages.

The final two addresses to the reader are found in the translations of Agustín de Zárate's *Historia del descvbrimiento y conqvista del Perv* and Cesare Federici's *Viaggio*. Why these were translated is not immediately obvious. De Zárate's paratext is a long-winded piece on the knowledge of authors and philosophers from antiquity to the present day with relation to newly discovered islands. It is not marked in the English translation, *The discoverie and conqvst of the Prouinces of Perv*, as being written by the author; simply entitled 'To the reader' (¶2–¶4v), it contains no striking details that might alert the reader to its authorship. Hence, for the English reader, it might well have been written by the translator, as it follows directly upon his dedication. Only those who had seen a copy of the Spanish source text would know it was in fact written by de Zárate himself. Federici's address, 'Cæsar Frederick to the

³⁴⁷ A note of clarification is useful here. The Dutch source text appeared in two parts in 1584 and 1585. An 'international' Latin version was printed in 1586. It was for this publication that Waghenauer wrote the address to the reader mentioned above, in which he expressed his joy at being translated. However, this address was then included in the English translation of 1588, out of which the quoted text above is taken.

³⁴⁸ Las Casas, *Tyrannies et cruauitez des Espagnols*.

Reader' (A3r), is similarly found after the translator's own paratext in *The Voyage and Trauaile: of M. Cæsar Frederick*, but is clearly marked as being written by the author. It is in no way remarkable, stating only that the work contains things 'the which were neuer as yet written of any' (A3r).

	STC	Author	Transl.	Year	Type	By	To
1	645	Martyr	Eden	1555	dedic.	author	Charles V
2	5798	Cortés	Eden	1561	dedic.	author	Charles V
3	15347	Le Challeux	Hacket	1566	dedic.	author	friend
4	23950	Thevet	Hacket	1568	dedic.	author	Bertrand
					poem	Auratus	author
					reader	author	
5	23659	Taisnier	Eden	1575	dedic.	author	Gebhard
6	12425	Guevara	Hellowes	1578	dedic.	author	Cobos
7	10529	Escalante	Frampton	1579	dedic.	author	Rojas
8	17771	Medina	Frampton	1581	dedic.	author	Philip II
9	26123	Zaráte	Nicholls	1581	reader	author	
10	16806	Castanheda	Lichefield	1582	dedic.	author	John III
11	4739	Las Casas	M. M. S.	1583	dedic.	author	Philip II
					reader	int. tr. (Miggrode)	
12	10746	Federici	Hickock	1588	reader	author	
13	24931	Waghenaer	Ashley	1588	poem	Dousa [La]	author
					poem	Dousa [En]	author
					reader	author	
14	15193	Houtman	Phillip	1598	dedic.	printer (Langenes)	town
15	11543	Galvão	?	1601	dedic.	editor (Tavares)	Lencastre

Figure 8: Paratexts originally accompanying source texts

None of the dedications or addresses to the reader (fig. 8) remained in their original language, all being translated into English so as to appear more accessible and suitable for accompanying the English translation. However, the situation is somewhat different for the few liminary poems to be found in this corpus of navigational texts. One, praising the author André Thevet, 'In Thevetum novi orbis' (*3v), was composed in Latin by the illustrious Johannes Auratus or Jean Dorat: it remained in Latin in the

English translation, *The new found worlde, or Antarctike*.³⁴⁹ On the other hand, in *The Mariner's Mirrour* Janus Dousa's praise for Lucas Jansz Waghenaeer's work was included in its original Latin, 'Operis commendatio' (¶2v), alongside a new English version of the poem, entitled 'The same Englished in prayse of the vvork' (¶3). Dorat and Dousa were both eminent Latinists and men of letters while Thevet as royal cosmographer held a prestigious position at the French court. No doubt, the fame of these men was the reason for retaining these poems in the English publications.

3. Translation-specific paratexts

Let us now look at the second set of paratexts, that is, those specifically written to accompany a translation. As with the paratexts originally accompanying source texts, liminary poems are rarely used to accompany translated works on navigation. We find two prefacing Thomas Nicholls's translation of Francisco López de Gómara, *The Pleasant Historie of the Conquest of the Weast India, now called new Spayne*. The first poem is in English, 'Stephan Goßon in prayse of the Translator' (b2r); the other in Latin, 'In Thomæ Nicholai occidentalem Indiam St. Goßon' (b2v). Their author Stephen Gosson was finishing his Oxford education when he wrote these poems and perhaps wanted to show off his skills in both Latin and English verse since he always felt somewhat inferior to other students there, being the son of an immigrant joiner.³⁵⁰ Another pair of newly composed liminary poems are found in Philip Jones's translation of Albrecht Meyer entitled *Certaine briefe, and speciall instructions for gentlemen*,

³⁴⁹ Lestringant, *Le Brésil d'André Thevet*, 409-410.

³⁵⁰ Kinney, 'Gosson, Stephen', *ODNB*.

merchants, students, souldiers, mariners, &c.: ‘Ad P. I. huius opellæ μεταφράσιν T. H. Medicinæ Doctoris Hexasticon’ and ‘Ad eundem M. B. Oxoniensis aliud Hexasticon’ (A4v). They are both written in Latin praising Jones, one by ‘T. H.’ and the other by ‘M. B.’. Given that the liminary poems, few though they are, both in this section and the previous one, are all but one found in Latin, it is safe to say that this is another example of including paratexts for their prestige and sense of authority. Not only is it the case of linguistic prestige, Latin being superior to the vernacular, but also of genre, verse as opposed to prose.

In this translation-specific set of texts, again, most of the paratexts are either dedications or addresses to the reader. At least one such paratext is found in thirty-four works; that is 80% of the corpus. No fewer than thirty-three out of those thirty-four works contain a dedication, while thirteen contain an address to the reader. The majority were written by the translator, who is the most obvious source for this new material, although some were by the editor and in a couple of cases even by the printer.

It would lead us too far to go into detail about all of the dedicatees so I shall simply mention the most prominent; the others can be found in figures 9, 15 and 17. Topping the list, where this corpus is concerned at least, is Charles Howard, renowned naval commander and diplomat and from 1585 Lord High Admiral of England. Four works by four different translators were dedicated to him between 1578 and 1599. Very appropriate for Howard’s position, they were a history of the art of navigation (Guevara), a navigation manual (Antoniszoon), an insight into Portuguese trade practices (Federici) and a technical work on position-finding (Stevin). In light of this, it is no coincidence that Richard Hakluyt’s 1598 seminal *Principal Navigations* was also dedicated to him. Next is Sir Edward Dyer, patron of the merchant-translator John

Frampton. Dyer was a protégé of the Earl of Leicester and as such a well-connected courtier, albeit riddled with debt throughout most of his life. This did not, however, prevent him from being a sought-after patron. As a friend of Dr John Dee and Sir Philip Sidney, Dyer was very interested in international politics and exploration, which is evident, for example, from his financial support for Frobisher's series of voyages in search of the Northwest Passage (1576-1578).³⁵¹ Four works in this corpus were addressed to him between 1579 and 1581: two books on China (Polo and Escalante), one on herbal remedies from the New World (Monardes) and one navigation manual (Medina). The third popular dedicatee in our list is the wealthy London merchant Sir Thomas Smythe, who was governor of the Muscovy Company, the Levant Company and first governor of the East India Company. He received three dedications by two different translators between 1601 and 1619, all travel accounts susceptible to pleasing a man whose interests lay in far-off lands: two works on voyages to the Spice Islands (Van Neck and Schouten) and one report from a voyage in search of the Northeast Passage (De Veer). Finally, the list includes dedications addressed to some of the most famous explorers and courtiers of the Elizabethan period, Francis Drake, Thomas Cavendish, Humphrey Gilbert, Walter Raleigh and Francis Walsingham.

	STC	Author	Transl.	Year	Type	By	To
1	11551	Garcie	Copland	1528	reader	translator	
2	18244	Münster	Eden	1533	dedic.	translator	Dudley
					reader	translator	
3a	645	Martyr	Eden	1555	reader	translator	
4a	5798	Cortés	Eden	1561	dedic.	translator	Muscovy C
5	23950	Thevet	Hacket	1568	dedic.	translator	Sidney
6	23659	Taisnier	Eden	1575	dedic.	translator	Winter
3b	649	Martyr	Eden	1577	dedic.	ed. (Willes)	Bridget
					reader	ed. (Willes)	

³⁵¹ May, 'Dyer, Sir Edward', *ODNB*.

7	10823	Enciso	Frampton	1578	dedic.	translator	Gilbert
8	12425	Guevara	Hellowes	1578	dedic.	translator	Howard
9	16807	Gomara	Nicholls	1578	dedic.	translator	Walsingham
					reader	translator	
					poem	Gosson [la]	translator
					poem	Gosson [en]	translator
10	10529	Escalante	Frampton	1579	dedic.	translator	Dyer
11	20092	Polo	Frampton	1579	dedic.	translator	Dyer
12	4699	Cartier	Florio	1580	dedic.	translator	Bray
					reader	translator	
13	18006	Monardes	Frampton	1580	dedic.	translator	Dyer
14	17771	Medina	Frampton	1581	dedic.	translator	Dyer
15	26123	Zarate	Nicholls	1581	dedic.	translator	Wilson
16	16806	Castanheda	Lichefield	1582	dedic.	translator	Drake
17	21545	Antoniszoon	Norman	1584	dedic.	translator	Howard
					reader	translator	
18	15316	Laudonnière	Hakluyt	1587	dedic.	translator	Raleigh
19a	18487	Mendoza	A. F.	1587	dedic.	translator	Anderson
20	10746	Federici	Hickock	1588	dedic.	translator	Howard
					reader	translator	
19b	12003	Mendoza	Parke	1588	dedic.	translator	Cavendish
					reader	pr. (Wolfe)	
21	24931	Waghenaer	Ashley	1588	dedic.	translator	Hatton
22	17784	Meyer	Jones	1589	dedic.	translator	Drake
					poem	T. H.	translator
					poem	M. B.	translator
4b	5803	Cortés	Eden	1596	reader	ed. (Tapp)	
23	16805	Lopes	Hartwell	1597	dedic.	translator	Whitgift
					reader	translator	
24	15193	Houtman	Phillip	1598	dedic.	translator	Scudamore
25	15691	Linschoten	Phillip	1598	dedic.	pr. (Wolfe)	Caesar
					reader	translator	
26	23265	Stevin	Wright	1599	dedic.	translator	Howard
					dedic.	translator	Trinity H
27	3398	Botero	Johnson	1601	dedic.	translator	Somerset
28	11543	Galvão	?	1601	dedic.	ed. (Hakluyt)	Cecil
29	18417	Neck	Walker	1601	dedic.	translator	Smythe
30	24628	Veer	Phillip	1605	dedic.	translator	Smythe
31	15491	Lescarbot	Erondelle	1609	dedic.	translator	Henry
					reader	translator	
32	22938	?	Hakluyt	1609	dedic.	translator	Virginia C
3c	650	Martyr	Eden/Lok	1612	dedic.	ed./tr. (Lok)	Caesar
					reader	ed./tr. (Lok)	
4c	5805	Cortés	Eden	1615	dedic.	ed. (Tapp)	Wade
33	10840	Feynes	Tourval	1615	dedic.	translator	Herbert
					reader	translator	
34	21828	Schouten	Phillip	1619	dedic.	translator	Smythe
4d	5805.5	Cortés	Eden	1630	reader	ed. (Tapp)	

Figure 9: Translation-specific paratexts

Besides addressing a specific person or group of persons, these dedications and addresses to the reader (fig. 9) often serve as what we would now call prefaces. Genette lists a number of different functions a preface can perform of which several are relevant here and shall be discussed below. For ‘the themes of the why’ we find importance, novelty or tradition, and truthfulness whereas ‘the themes of the how’ appear as comments on the genesis of the work, choice of a public, commentary on the title, contextual information and statements of intent.³⁵² Most of these translation-specific paratexts address the issue of translation. In this respect, there are four points that I shall explore: the reasons offered to explain why the text was translated (‘themes of the why’); the intention of the translator in choosing to translate the text in question (statements of intent); the issues of methodology (‘themes of the how’); the use of specific vocabulary.

3.1. Reasons for translating

By far the most regularly cited, in fact in two-thirds of the paratexts, the reason for producing the translation is that somebody requested it.³⁵³ This ‘somebody’ is sometimes a rather vague person. In *Discours of Voyages into ye Easte & West Indies* it is a ‘learned Gentleman’ (Av), in the 1536 edition of *Rutter of the see* a ‘sad / ingenyous and cyrcumspecte mariner of the cyte of London’ (a2v), while John Florio produced his translation of Cartier’s *A shorte and briefe narration of the two Nauigations* ‘at the requests and earneste solicitations of diuers my very good frends

³⁵² Genette, ‘Chapter 9: The Functions of the Original Preface’, 196-235.

³⁵³ See for example Dunn, 5, ‘the request of the dedicatee’.

heere in Oxforde' (A2r). Translations can also be requested by groups of people that have a shared professional interest. This is especially the case for John Frampton, who in his *The most noble and famous travels of Marcus Paulus* mentions 'manye Merchauntes, Pilots, and Marriners' (*2r); they reappear as 'diuerse moste excellent Pilottes, Maisters, and towardly young Marriners' (A2v) in his *A discourse of the nauigation which the Portugales doe make*, while in his translation of de Medina's *The Arte of Nauigation* he was 'mooued by persuasion of certaine pylottes, and Masters of shippes' (¶2r).

The first translated navigation manual, that of Martin Cortés, was produced at the request of a merchant company, the Muscovy Company. However, there is a gradual move from generic bodies like the various companies to specific commissioners of translations. Several translators mention the names of individual instigators. Thus, we find the printer Richard Jugge who asked his friend Richard Eden to translate Taisnier's *A very necessarie and profitable booke concerning nauigation* because he wanted to add it to a new edition of the Cortés translation, thinking it would help sales. The work of Lucas Jansz Waghenaer was deemed so useful by Charles Howard and the Privy Council that the Lord Chancellor, Sir Christopher Hatton, specifically requested one of his men, Anthony Ashley, to translate it into English. Also mentioned in *New Mexico. Otherwise, The Voiage of Anthony of Espeio* is a 'Maister Boldley' (A2v), which could refer to John Bodley, a prominent London merchant and a publisher (see p. 87). Most important of all, however, being mentioned in six different works as instigator, is Richard Hakluyt. Not only was he a translator and editor himself but he also urged others to help in translating works he had procured on his travels or through business contacts. He is thus mentioned by Abraham Hartwell in *A reporte of*

the kingdome of Congo (*r), by Robert Parke in *The Historie of the great and mightie kingdome of China* (§3v), in *The iovrnall, or dayly Register* by William Walker (§2v), in Pierre Erondelle's 1609 *Nova Francia* (§§2r) and twice by William Phillip, first in his translation of Linschoten's work (A3v) and again in de Veer's *True and perfect Description of three Voyages* (A2r).

The next most popular reason given is that the contents of the work merit translating.³⁵⁴ Paratexts thus stress the 'rarenesse of the subiect', as found in Federici's travel account of southern Asia (A2r), the 'profitable matter' in Galvão's history of the art of navigation (A2v), or the new knowledge of the world as, for example, in de Enciso's *A Briefe Description of the Portes, Creekes, Bayes, and Hauens, of the Weast India*, where we learn of 'the Ilandes, Portes, Hauens, Bayes or Forelandes mentioned in this Pamphlet' (A2v). The 'newnesse' comes from the fact that many of these works had not been available in English; rather, as Florio wrote, 'many worthy secrets [were] hitherto [...] concealed' (B2v) in them. Thus Frampton says in the dedication of his translation of de Enciso, 'many other knowvledges of high value, lie hid from our Seamen [...] not acquainted vvith forrayne tongues' (A2v). We find a similar sentiment being expressed in Hacket's translation of Thevet's work, namely that 'before this time the like hath not ben heard of' (*3v). To give the translation more instant authority, reference is occasionally made to the fame and renown of the original work as, for example, in the case of Cortés and Martyr.

Another, this time very practical, reason offered is the sheer availability of the source text. Philip Jones wrote in his translation of Albrecht Meyer's *Methodus describendi regions, urbes, et arces* that he was 'overlooking a large Librarie' (A2r)

³⁵⁴ See for example Dunn, 5, 'the utility of the subject'.

when he came across a small volume he deemed interesting enough to translate. John Frampton had the work Marco Polo ‘lying by mee in my chamber’ (*2r). And in the case of William Phillip, Thomas Hickock and Richard Eden the work, in this instance de Houtman’s journal, happened to be ‘falling into [their] handes’ (A2r), which is also a topos found often in translators’ paratexts.³⁵⁵ This practicality goes hand in hand with a sense of utility and usefulness. The act of translating was deemed by Jones as being a ‘better duety both towards nature & my countrie’, as he wrote in *Certaine briefe, and speciall instructions for gentlemen, merchants, students, souldiers, mariners, &c.* (A2v). Eden found translating Taisnier a good way to ‘passe foorth part of my tyme in some honest exercise’ (*2r), a sentiment that was shared by Frampton in the 1580 issue of *Ioyfull newes out of the newfound world*, where he says that he thought it good to ‘passe the tyme to some benefite of my country, and to auoyde idleness’ (*3r).

3.2. Statements of intent

A very common and unsurprising purpose in translating these navigation manuals and related works was to benefit mariners, pilots, seamen, travellers and merchants. From the paratexts, it seems they needed a little push in the right direction. Thus Florio wanted to ‘animate and encourage the Englishe Marchants’ (A2r), a feeling that was shared by Frampton, who thought they needed to be ‘ke[pt] from idlenesse [...] and vvith other nations rather late than neuer to make the[m]selves shine vvith the brightnesse of knowvledge’ (A2v), as he says in the dedication to his translation of de Enciso. In order to do this, they needed up-to-date knowledge, which is exactly what

³⁵⁵ For Phillip see also STC 21828, π2r; for Hickock STC 10746, A3v and for Eden STC 18244, aa2v.

Eden, Edward Wright and Erondelle had in mind: Eden, in his first edition of Cortés's *Arte of Navigation*, wanted 'to proue howe necessary a thyng it is [...] for all Pilottes and Sea men to haue the knowledge hereof' (CC4r); Wright, in *The Haven-finding art*, aimed to make the contents 'knownen to all English mariners' (A3v); finally, Erondelle in translating Lescarbot's *Nova Francia*, was pleased with 'the knowledge that this translation giueth them' (¶¶2v). The metaphor of light is used to represent knowledge by several translators: Frampton hoped his translation of Marco Polo might 'give greate lighte to our Seamen' (*2r), Jones spoke in *Certaine briefe, and speciall instructions* of converting ignorance 'into a quicke sight, and illumination of the senses' (A3r), while Phillip translated de Houtman's account 'to procure more light and encouragement to such as are desirous to trauell' (A2). Not that these statements of intent excluded the goals of 'profit', 'furtherance', and 'benefit', questions to which I shall return.

Some translators have specific seamen in mind, though we should not always take this at face value. Books ultimately were a commercial object, as stressed before, so it would not be wise to limit one's buying public. Though the translator may single out (a) specific person(s), like in the dedicatory epistle, 'these gestures cause the reader to read, as it were, over the shoulder of an "intended" audience'.³⁵⁶ The relatively 'private' intent gradually becomes 'public', which is emphasised by the medium itself in moving from manuscript to print.³⁵⁷ Richard Hakluyt wrote in his dedication to Sir Walter Raleigh of his 1587 *A notable historie containing foure voyages* that his translation was specifically for 'those, which are to be employed in your owne like enterprise, whom, by the reading of this my translation, you woulde haue forewarned

³⁵⁶ Saenger, 59.

³⁵⁷ See Dunn, 5, for the changing nature of the dedicatory epistle.

and admonished' (π2r). A similar intent was expressed by Robert Parke in 1588, who in the dedication of his *The Historie of the great and mightie kingdome of China* incorporated all the issues I have just mentioned in stating:

I haue for the increase of the knowledge of the subiectes of Englande, and specially for the illuminating of the mindes of those, that are to take the voyage next in hande to Iapan, China, and the Philippinas, translated the same worke into English, and committed it to print (¶3v).

Finally, Phillip, writing to Sir Thomas Smythe, first governor of the East India Company, in the dedication of his 1619 *The relation of a Wonderfull Voiage made by William Cornelison Schouten of Horne*, 'wish[ed] it a meanes to further and aduance your trade in India' (π2r). As said earlier, these statements, useful and truthful as they may be, do not define the reading public. Even if we open it back up again to include all English mariners, pilots, seamen, travellers and merchants, that would still be too narrow. As Saenger writes, 'the readership is likely to include many people who take both themselves and the book into an imaginary situation of real utility which operates, in practical terms, within the rhetoric of nationalism'.³⁵⁸ This widens the buying public beyond merely those readers with a professional interest in navigation.

The motivation not simply to translate but also to commit one's work to print stemmed from the desire to make all knowledge public and to contribute to the common good, a phrase that appears regularly. This could bring personal gain, as Hickock wrote in his translation of Federici's adventures: 'so mayest thou if thou wilt

³⁵⁸ Saenger, 105.

trauell those Countries, and get great gaine' (A3v). According to Jones, the work of Albrecht Meyer that he had translated was written 'for men intending their profite and honor by the experience of the world' (A2r). Even more important, however, is the gain for the country as a whole. A third of all the reasons given concern England. Thus, for example, Phillip wanted to 'aduance our English Name and Nation' (A3v) by translating Linschoten's *Itinerario*, while the hydrographer Robert Norman wrote in the 1584 *The Safegard of Sailers, or Great Rutter* of 'aduancing the honour of our countrie, and increasing the wealth of the same' (A3). Anthony Ashley spoke of the 'publick benefit of the whole body of the common wealth' (¶v) and Florio of 'no small commoditie and benefite to this our Countrie of Englande' (A2r). Since patriotism was very strong in the closing decades of the sixteenth century, it is not surprising that similar expressions are found in a multitude of translator's and author's paratexts, not simply in this specific corpus.

Finally, there are two further reasons that crop up only a couple of times. The first is ideological, offered in light of the developing empire and ensuing colonialism. They are in fact twin concerns, both ideological: the intertwining of colonialism and conquest, and the conversion of the natives to Christianity. In 1597, Abraham Hartwell wrote to John Whitgift, the archbishop of Canterbury, that he translated Duarte Lopes's *A reporte of the kingdome of Congo* — which described, amongst other things, 'by what meanes it pleased God to draw them [natives] from Paganisme to Christianity' (¶2v) — for the use of 'such valiant English, as do earnestly thirst and desire to atchieue the conquest of rude and barbarous Nations' (¶3r). This dual secular and religious fervour was shared by Hakluyt. In 1609, he translated a work for the Virginia

Company entitled *Virginia richly valued, By the description of the maine land of Florida, her next neighbour*, wanting to inform them about both the commodities to be found there and the ‘Inhabitants’ of Florida so they could be fully prepared to deal with those in Virginia, ‘but if gentle polishing will not serue, then we shall not want hammerours and rough masons enow, I meane our old soldiours trained up in the Netherlands, to square and prepare them to our Preachers hands’ (A4r). The hope is that, eventually, ‘all Paganisme and Idolatrie [can be] by little and little vtterly extinguished’ (A4v) and the knowledge found in this work can add to ‘the inlargement of the dominions of his sacred Maiestie’ (A4v).

Ideological intentions aside, however, there is one final purpose of translating that is mentioned, translating for leisure.³⁵⁹ Richard Willes wrote in his dedication to Lady Bridget, Countess of Bedford, saying he hoped his new edition of Eden’s translation of Peter Martyr’s *Decades of the New World* might bring ‘recreation [and] you shall finde delight in reading ouer these relations’ (¶2v). Bridget Hussey, the second wife of the second Earl of Bedford, Francis Russell (who was godfather of Sir Francis Drake), was Willes’s patroness.³⁶⁰ This work on geography is the only dedication to a woman in this whole corpus, a fact that perhaps reflects exploration and navigation as being peculiarly ‘male’ domains.

3.3. Method of translation

³⁵⁹ For the difference between translating ‘for’ leisure and translating ‘at’ leisure, see Gillian Wright, 58ff.

³⁶⁰ Parker, 77 and 97, n.7; Payne, ‘Willes, Richard’, *ODNB*.

So far we have discussed reasons why the texts were translated in the first place, as well as with what purpose in mind. Let us now turn to how they were translated, or at least how the translators themselves described the process in their paratexts.³⁶¹ The question of translation methods arises in one way or another in 40% of the paratexts, yet has been left largely unstudied hitherto. Nevertheless, it can provide a useful insight into the genesis of a publication, a deeper understanding of the translator himself, as well as other contextual information.

A few problems our translators encountered concern the technical aspects of navigation and sailing. These are discussed in the earliest translation in this corpus, namely Robert Copland's 1528 *Rutter of ye see*. In his address to the reader, he wrote how it was

veray dyfficyle to me / not knowynge the termes of mariners / and names of the costes and hauens / for I came neuer on the see nor by no coste therof. But folowynge my cople by the advyse and ouer syght of certayne co[n]nyng men of that scyence whiche bolded and informed me i[n] many doubtes / I dyd undertake it doynge my dyligence, as a blynde horse in a myll tornynge the querne ygnorauntly / saufe by conduytyng of the myller that setteth hym on werke (A3r).

This is interesting for its comment on the role of revision, Copland's 'ouer syght' in translation, and the translator's admission, couched in the metaphors of the miller and

³⁶¹ Although it would shed light on any difference between theory and practice, a close comparison of the original and the translation falls outside the scope of the present thesis. This would be a very different kind of study.

his blind horse, that he had sought advice from experts. Sixty years later, that same concern of terminological ignorance troubled Anthony Ashley when he was commissioned to translate Waghenaeer's *Spiegel der Zeevaert*, printed in 1588 as *The Mariner's mirrour*. He admitted, in the dedication to his patron Sir Christopher Hatton, that he

no soonder vnder-took this woork then mistook it, not considering what perfect knowledge, proper termes and peculier phrases are necessarilie and inseperable incident to the true interpretation of any Mechanicall science, much more to this notable art of Hidrographie or Nauigation (¶r).

Those without the required knowledge were criticised for procuring 'bad' translations. Hakluyt, in his capacity as editor in this case, set down the following criteria in his paratext to the anonymously translated *The discoveries of the World from their first originall vnto the yeere of our Lord 1555*: 'a good translator ought to be well acquainted with the proprietie of the tongue out of which, and of that into which he translateth, and thirdly with the subiect or matter it selfe: I found this translator very defectiue in all three; especially the last' (A3v). Since the person being severely criticised in this address to the reader was unknown and the Portuguese original by Antonio Galvão was out of Hakluyt's reach, he was left no option but to edit and print this 'faulty' translation, hence the massive caveat at the start.

With a specific subject also comes a specific target audience, something that must be kept in mind by the translator. This is not, of course, confined to translators of

navigational texts. The question of audience, for translations as well as original source texts, has a long history stretching back to Classical times and is addressed in many a Renaissance work on rhetoric. Translators were not immune to its importance, as we see in the following examples. Thomas Nicholls pointed it out when he said he had

not decked [López de Gómara's *The Pleasant Historie of the Conquest of the Weast India, now called new Spayne*] vvith gallant couloures, nor yet fyled vvith pleasant phrase of Rhetorike, for these things are not for poore Marchant trauellers, but are reserued to learned VVriters: yet I trust the Author vvill pardon mee bycause I haue gone as neere the sense of this Historie, as my cunning vvoulde reach vnto (a4r–a4v).

Ashley is of a similar opinion and states in *The Mariner's Mirrour* that he made specific efforts 'to imitate the plainest stile and common manner of speche, as easiest to be vnderstood of all sorts of men' (¶r). Thomas Hickock, too, says he respected common usage in his Federici translation: '[I] haue simplie folowed the Authors sence in that phraze of speech that we commonly vse' (A3v). These examples reflect the fact that both the subject matter and the target audience could influence the style used in a translation.

Interestingly, this last statement raises another issue that, alongside anxieties concerning style and language, dominates the methodological concerns addressed in these paratexts, namely that of literalism. Title-pages of all translations in this period are filled with statements such as 'truly and faithfully translated'. What this means,

however, is open for debate.³⁶² The concepts of ‘literal’ and ‘free’ and the boundaries between translation and imitation are huge topics in translation studies. Renaissance translators modelled themselves on various traditions, going back via the Middle Ages to the Classical writers, particularly Cicero, Horace and Quintilian, and ranging between the two extremes of word-for-word translation on the one hand and imitation and adaptation on the other. Theo Hermans argues that for translations into the vernacular languages towards the middle of the sixteenth century, the prevailing traditions were those that favoured literalism: ‘My contention is that, to a much greater extent than is often thought, these traditions foster and shape the attitudes and norms of sixteenth-century translators, as they are found in liminary texts and critical pronouncements’.³⁶³ We shall examine these attitudes and norms in some of the liminary materials in our corpus.

Attendant upon this binary division of literal versus free translation is another binary one, content versus style. Over and over again, translators complain that they have to choose between the two.³⁶⁴ That incompatibility between rendering the sense and reproducing the form haunts the translator as fidelity to one language may result in poor style in the target language. This very issue was of genuine concern to ‘A. F.’, for example, who felt that he had to justify himself in his *New Mexico. Otherwise, The Voiage of Anthony of Espeio* by admitting: ‘although I haue vsed a worse English phrase the[n] others would do; yet I haue kept (so neere as I can) the very Spanish sence’ (A2v). The translators, however, concerned themselves with rendering the

³⁶² The subject of literalism versus free translation is vast and goes beyond the scope of this thesis. However, see especially Hermans, 95-116 for an excellent and thorough discussion and summary.

³⁶³ Hermans, 108.

³⁶⁴ See for example Saenger, 100ff.

‘sense’ of the source text, although this could mean different things to different practitioners. Nicholas Lichefield, for example, in his translation of Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, states he has ‘observed the literall sence [...] as the Author setteth it forth’ (A2v). However, the idea of being ‘truthful’ and ‘faithful’ does not automatically and universally imply a close reproduction of the meaning of the original. For some translators it meant improving upon one’s source text. Robert Norman stated in his 1584 *The Safeguard of Sailers, or Great Rutter*: ‘truly as neere as I could, I haue followed, yea and in many places by my owne obseruatio[n] bettered the originall’ (A4v). Ashley subscribed to the same motto by describing himself as having ‘performed the part of a faithfull interpretour: and (be it spoken without preiudice to the Authour) by the aduise of the best experienced, haue in many places amended and bettered him’ (¶r). Here being faithful went hand in hand with ‘amending’ and ‘bettering’. Even for those who chose not to consciously amend or improve the original, however, there were certain consequences. In the case of Robert Parke’s translation of Juan González de Mendoza, the printer, John Wolfe, found it necessary to add a warning to readers. He was worried some might be offended by descriptions of the zeal of Spanish friars and he did not want to be held liable for such offence. Hence, he set out the following warning: ‘our translator (as it seemeth) hath rather chosen to be esteemed fidus interpre[s], in truely translating the historie as it was, though conteyning some errors, then to be accounted a patcher or corrupter of other mens workes’ (¶4v).³⁶⁵

In this example the translator’s decision *not* to alter the original also invited possible

³⁶⁵ The term ‘fidus interpre[s]’ was used by Horace in his comparison of the faithful translator and the aspiring poet who, on the contrary, was to imitate in creative and free fashion the works of earlier writers. Horace’s dictum and how it was misrepresented over the centuries to represent the two methods of translating is discussed by Hermans and features in most discussions of Renaissance translation theory. It is noteworthy that Wolfe is using the Horation quotation correctly.

criticism, which the printer tried to avoid as much as possible by adding his own paratext. The translator's decision to leave the text as it was 'tempts the reader into a kind of double exoticism, seeing China through Spanish eyes'.³⁶⁶ Though Wolfe was probably right to add a warning out of political considerations, his paratext is also constructed to encourage readers to buy this publication.

Another issue is the structure or sometimes *lack* of structure of a work. Is it the translator's place to rectify such a situation? Abraham Hartwell certainly did not think so, as he set out in his address to the reader:

If happily it be further vrged, that the Translator should haue taken paines to cast him in a new Mould, and to make his members hang proportionably one vpon another: I must answere, that I neither do, nor ever did like of that kinde of course. I was alwayes of this opinion (and therein I do still dwell) that Authors should be published in the same Order, in the same Termes, & in the same Stile which they themselues vsed (*2r).

A similar decision to leave things as they were was taken by Pierre Erondelle, albeit for different reasons. His translation of Marc Lescarbot's *Nova Francia* originally formed

but a part of a greater volume. If therefore you finde that some references of things mentioned in the former part of the said volume are not to be found in this translation, do not thinke it strange, in asmuch as they could not wel be

³⁶⁶ Saenger, 100, n. 179.

brought in, except the whole volume should be translated, which of purpose was left vndone, as well to auoid your farther charges, as because it was thought needlesse to translate more then concerneth that which adioyneth to Virginia (¶¶2r).

So in this case, even though the structure was changed already by the fact that just a portion of the original was translated, the translator decided to leave that portion as it was, rather than amending it to make it fit as a stand-alone piece in its own right. These structural concerns plagued editors more than translators, especially those publishing subsequent editions of a work. Hakluyt, for example, felt that by adding ‘a large alphabeticall table’ his edition of de Laudonnière would provide all you could wish for so that ‘it shalbe needlesse to reckon vp againe’ (π2v). John Tapp acted similarly in his consecutive editions of Eden’s translation of Cortés’s *Arte of Navigation*. In each new edition, he changed and added, for example in 1630, ‘new calculated [...] Tables of Declination, and some other matters fitting for the time present and to come; which otherwise, had been shortly out of date’ (A2v).

The final issue that crops up in these comments on the act of translating is how the translations of navigational and scientific works, and the methods used to translate them, compare with those of the classics. Thomas Nicholls, discussing his translation of Agustín de Zárate, relates the question specifically to style by saying

the troth and pith of the matter vttered in plaine sort shall suffice giuing licence, as much (as in me lieth) to whosoeuer that will take the paines, to write it ouer

again, to beautifie the same, as to him or them shall seem conuenient: as often times, hath happened among the Greeke and Latine Historiographers and Translators (A3v).

For Richard Willes, whose 1577 edition of Peter Martyr was ‘Newly set in order, augmented, and finished’, the case was clear as he felt that Eden’s translation was ‘nothyng inferior to the bookes of auncient writers, far exceedyng the multitude of foolysh commentaries and friuolous translations, to to [sic] licentiousely vsed in our tyme’ (¶5r). These comments are of particular relevance to the Renaissance debate over the comparative merits of contemporary and Classical texts, but also over the position of the translated text *vis-à-vis* the original.³⁶⁷ Nicholls’s defence of stylistic shift is based on the rule of Classical precedent, which justifies the potential ‘beautifying’ of the source text and pre-empts any accusations of stylistic infidelity. Willes’s is actually claiming, contrary to most commentators on translation, that the translated work stands on equal footing with the source text, a bold and rather unusual claim that questions the usual hierarchy that characterises descriptions of original and translated texts.

3.4. Two vocabulary clusters

Finally, it is worth noting that a specific vocabulary emerges in these paratexts. A close lexical analysis of the paratexts does indeed reveal two clusters of words that recur frequently and revolve around ‘profit’ on the one hand and ‘commonwealth’ on the

³⁶⁷ See for example Rhodes, 107-110.

other. We mentioned them here and there already in our discussion of the issues above but they merit further examination.

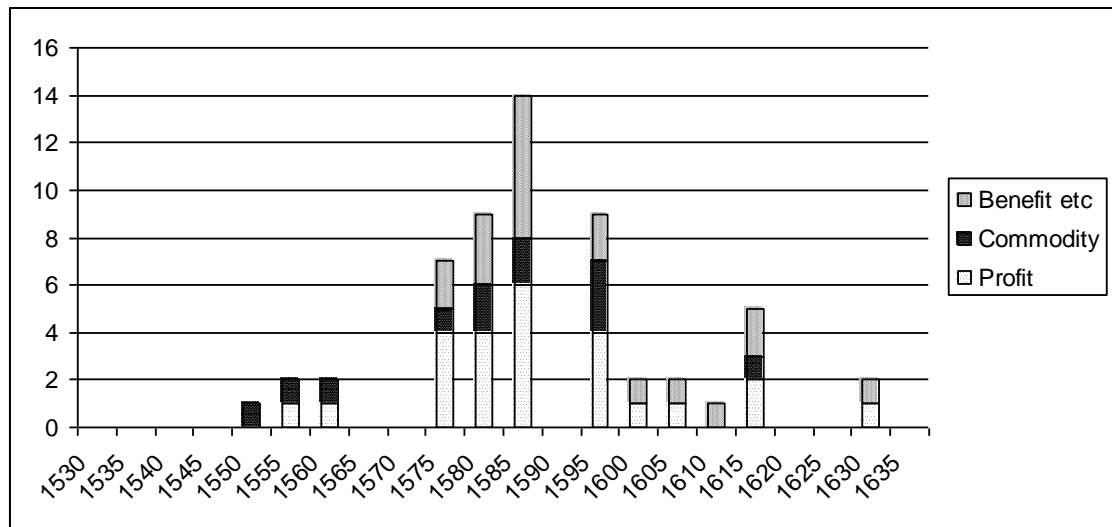


Figure 10: Cluster 1 (Profit) in five-year intervals

Cited as one of the main motivations to translate these navigational texts was the benefit that they would bring to pilots and mariners. This is expressed in several different terms but the main ones are drawn from the world of commerce: profit, commodity, and benefit (fig. 10). Given the commercial interests inspiring many of these translations, it is not surprising that such trade terms appear frequently, especially in discussions and descriptions of the New World. However, I have not taken these into account, noting *only* the instances where ‘profit’ concerned the translation itself. Such instances occur in roughly half of the paratexts, which contain at least one reference to the translation as either ‘profit’ or ‘profitable’. The words ‘benefit’ and ‘beneficial’ occur in one third of the texts. Finally, ‘commodity’ or ‘commodious’ appear in one fifth. According to the OED, the use of ‘commodity’ in the sense of ‘advantage,

benefit, profit, interest, gain’ is now considered obsolete or archaic, but was very much in use in the period discussed here. Combining all three terms into a cluster, profit–benefit–commodity, one finds that it appears in no less than 67% of the paratexts.

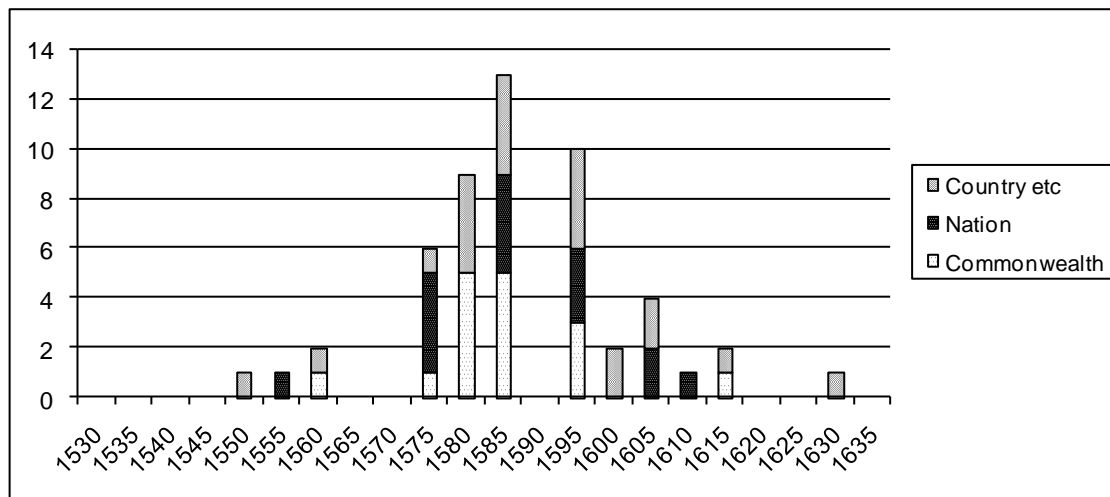


Figure 11: Cluster 2 (Commonwealth) in five-year intervals

The second cluster revolves around ‘commonwealth’ and two related terms, ‘nation’ and ‘country’ (fig. 11). Again, I have counted *only* those that concern the actual translation, that is, where the translation is described as performing a service for or being a profit to the ‘commonwealth’. The term ‘commonwealth’, appears, in a multitude of spellings, in 29% of the texts, closely followed at 27% by ‘nation’, as in ‘the English Nation’, ‘our English nation’ or ‘our Nation’. The third term in this cluster is ‘country’, specifically in the sense of ‘our country’, ‘this English country’, ‘our countrymen’ and so on. In all these various forms, it occurs in 38% of the texts. Again,

if one adds the three terms together, making a commonwealth–nation–country cluster, it will appear in at least one instance in 61% of the paratexts.

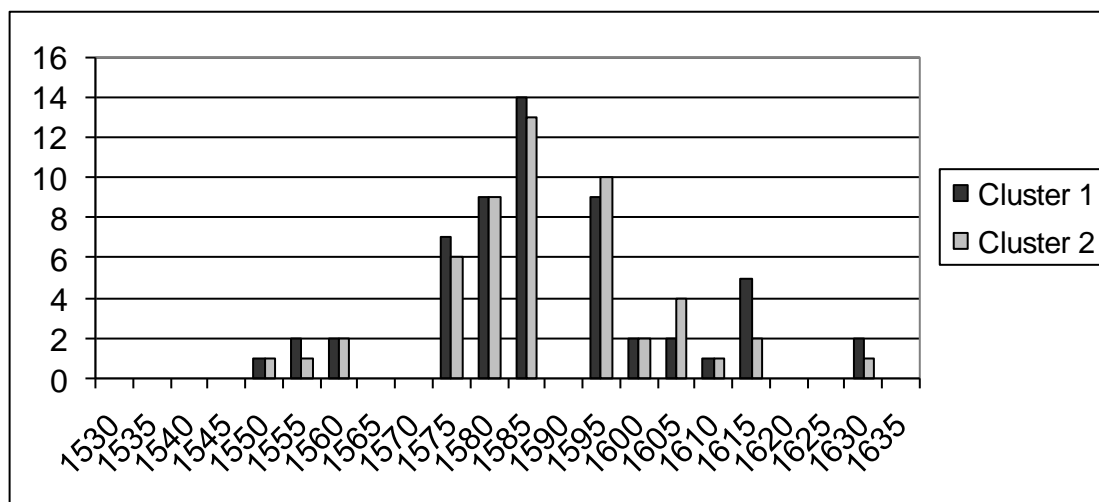


Figure 12: Cluster 1 (Profit) and 2 (Commonwealth) in five-year intervals

Taking into account when this vocabulary is used and setting the two clusters alongside each other, reveals that they occurred almost simultaneously (fig. 12). There is a noticeable spike from 1575 onwards leading up to the time around the Spanish Armada in 1588 when the growing conflict with Spain came to a head. Then there is another spike in the late 1590's towards the end of Elizabeth's reign. These coincide in part, of course, with a higher publication and translation rate in these years, but they are nevertheless significant. That the clusters of profit and commonwealth are often intertwined becomes clear from the following examples. The Cortés editor, John Tapp, for instance, wrote in 1615 in his dedication to Sir William Wade, Lieutenant of the Tower of London, that 'hee that is so well addicted to the common good of the Republike, will not denie the protection of that thing, which may any way tend to the

profit of the Common-weale in generall' (A3r). Furthermore, Tapp emphasised in the 1630 edition that Eden made this translation of Cortés 'for the good of his Country' (A2v). Hartwell said he made his translation of Lopes 'to help our English Nation, that they they might knowe and vnderstand many things, which are common in other languages, but vtterly concealed from this poore Island' (¶4v). Frampton hoped that his translation of de Escalante 'maye geue lyght to our Nation and woorke in many respectes benefite too' (A3r), that his 1580 edition of Monardes 'might bring in tyme rare profit, to my Country folkes of Englande' (*3r), while his first edition of Medina's *Arte of Nauigation* was 'so necessary for the com[m]on wealth' (2r). Translation as profit to the commonwealth and Nation occurs throughout these paratexts.

3.5. Personification of the translation process

An interesting point of style in these translation-specific paratexts is the use of personification for the translations themselves. Between 1597 and 1601, four paratexts express the relation between original work and translated text in this way. Robert Johnson in his 1601 translation of Botero wrote he 'taught this booke to speake English' (π2r). The 'book-as-person topos', as Michael Saenger calls it, is a common expression in early modern English that was 'so old, so powerful, and so multivalent' that I will focus on it in a little more detail for these translations.³⁶⁸ Though in Johnson's paratext the speaking constitutes an example of personification, it is still fairly weak, as the original work remains a book, an inanimate object. Taking it a step further is the printer John Wolfe, who described the work of Linschoten as follows:

³⁶⁸ Saenger, 95.

For this Dutchman arriuing here in England after his long trauell and Nauigation, and bringing rare Intelligences with him from Forreyne part, good reason it is that hee should bee examined [...] And therefore I haue brought him vnto you, with earnest request, that you will be pleased to examine him [...] vouchsafe him your good countenance, and giue him such intertainment as he shall deserue (Av–A2r).

Here the original work has become a foreign guest while the reader is the host who needs to give his guest a welcome reception and entertain him accordingly. Edward Wright followed a similar line of thought in his translation of Stevin's work, which he called 'this Dutch Pilot (as it were, for so I may not vnfitly call this booke) whom since his arriual here I haue onely taught to speake English that so he might be the more seruiceable vnto your Lor[d] and to all English seame[n] in that he professeth' (A4r–A4v). In this case, too, the original is like a foreign guest, or maybe almost an ambassador as he was sent to Charles Howard by 'the renowned [sic] Count Maurice his master [...] to co[m]mand him to be imployed' (A4v). Furthermore, 'if he shall be found indeed to performe so much as he promiseth [...] he may for euer after be receiued with enternteinme[n]t worthy by so notable seruice' (A4v). Finally, the most developed personification is that made by Abraham Hartwell in his translation of Duarte Lopes. I believe it is worth quoting in full:

And [he] presently presented me with this Portingall Pilgrime lately come to him out of the Kingdome of Congo, and apparelled in an Italian vesture:

intreating me very earnestly, that I would take him with me, and make him English: for he could report many pleasant matters that he sawe in his pilgrimage [...] I brought him away with mee. But within two houres conference, I found him nibbling at two most honourable Gentlemen of England, whom in plaine tearmes he called Pirates: so that I had much adoo to hold my hands from renting of him into many mo peeces, then his Cosen Lopez the Doctor was quartered. [...] And, because I sawe that in all the rest of his behauiour hee conteyned himselfe very well and honestly, and that he vsed this lewd speech, not altogether ex animo, but rather ex vitio gentis, of the now-inueterate hatred, which the Spanyard and Portingall beare against our Nation, I was so bold as to pardon him, and so taught him to speake the English tounge. In which language, if you will vouchsafe to heare him; hee will tell you many notable obseruations of diuers Countreys and peoples inhabiting in Africa, whose Names haue scarce been mentioned in England (*r-*v).

The 'Portingall Pilgrime' is a personification of the original report made by the author Lopes, who was a Portuguese explorer and settler. It was translated by Hartwell via the Italian, hence the original is represented here as a Portuguese traveller in Italian attire. Like the other personifications, he is worthy enough to be taught to speak English so that he can impart his knowledge and convey it thus to those interested, namely the dedicatee of the translation in first instance and then, of course, the readers. While personification in itself is by no means a unique or an unusual stylistic device, it is interesting that it is employed here to describe and establish the peculiar relationship between author and translator, translator and audience (that is, dedicatee and readers),

source language and target language. Discussing English husbandry in the works of Gervase Markham, critic Wendy Wall writes that Markham ‘allegorizes his own textual production in the language of his genre’ and the same is true in these translations.³⁶⁹ The works are not personified as just any odd person, but specifically as travellers and pilots. Like the paratexts it is found in, the book-as-person topos was part of an advertising strategy since ‘metaphors, particularly personifications, are powerful means of encouraging the purchase of a book’.³⁷⁰

3.6. Modesty topoi

Definitely not unique either to this genre of navigational works is the modesty topos, which occurs often in Renaissance prefaces in general. We find it in a variety of paratexts such as dedicatory epistles, translators’ addresses to the reader and notes by the printer, where it is usually adopted to justify the translation and/or its publication.³⁷¹ This device, employed by authors for several reasons, goes back to Classical writers, is used throughout the Middle Ages and continues into the Renaissance. The author and translator make themselves less important, doing so in an apologetic, self-deprecating manner. The topos is often used as a defence mechanism in times when authors and translators could attract serious trouble, in particular for political or religious reasons. In the case of translation, the topos can also play another role, namely to reinforce the concept of textual hierarchy that results in the translation and translator occupying a far

³⁶⁹ Wall, ‘Renaissance National Husbandry’, 779. Though she is discussing agriculture, it is interesting to note that many of Wall’s arguments in this article about the way Markham’s translations helped shape an English nationalism fit in the context of the translations of navigational works discussed here.

³⁷⁰ Saenger, 96.

³⁷¹ See Dunn; Wall, *The Imprint of Gender*, 169-174; Saenger, 100.

less important rung on the literary ladder than the original text and its authors. On occasion it also serves as a mark of respect, with varying degrees of obsequiousness, for the dedicatee, to show one's awareness of being in an inferior social position.³⁷² Examples of modesty topoi playing these roles can be found in about half of our corpus, as will become clear from the examples quoted below.

John Florio wrote in *A shorte and briefe narration of the two Nauigations and Discoueries to the Northweast partes called Newe Fravnce*: 'I holde my selfe farre inferiour to many' (A2r). This is just the first example in a series of confessions of feared or perceived inferiority expressed in this corpus. John Frampton beseeched the dedicatee of his translation of de Enciso, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, to think of his good intentions 'as very greate persons of highe honour haue done, vvhen little trifles haue bene giuen them by others of lovv degree' (A2v).

Two self-deprecatory remarks relate to language skills. The first concerns knowledge of the original language. Hakluyt in his translation of de Laudonnière readily assured his dedicatee that the latter 'had spent more yeares in France then I, and vnderstande the french better then my selfe' (π2r). Grasp of the target language is discussed in the second by Pierre Erondelle, who hoped '(nothwithstanding the defects which necessarily attend a stranger, who can neuer attaine the naturall Idiome of this eloquent language) that it might not be an iniury to your Highnesse' (¶¶r), as he wrote in his 1609 *Nova Francia*. Neither Frampton nor Thomas Nicholls seem to think of themselves as learned, as the former claimed he only made the translation of Marco Polo 'in hope some learned man woulde haue translated the worke, but [found] none that would take it in hand' (*2r), while the latter confessed in *The discoverie and*

³⁷² Rhodes, 113ff.

conqvst of the Prouinces of Perv ‘I ca[n] not polish as learned me[n] might require’ (A3r).

From this expression of inferiority comes the need to apologise in advance and already seek forgiveness for any possible faults, which is another topos of Renaissance prefaces. Thomas Hickock begins by apologising in *The Voyage and Trauaile: of M. Caesar Frederick*: ‘I haue not beene a Scholler (brought vp to write fine Schoole-termes)’ and ends by asking for forgiveness: ‘if thou finde a blemish in this my simple worke, I pray thee heartily couer the same with the shadowe of Patience’ (A3v). Nicholas Lichefield begged the dedicatee of his translation of de Castanheda ‘to pardon those imperfections, which I acknowledge to be very many, & so much the more by reason of my long & many yeares continuaunce in foreine countries’ (A2v). Richard Eden stated he had translated his 1561 edition of Cortés ‘as well as my poore learnyng may perfourme [...] and doe such seruice as my abilitie may suffice’ (CC1r) while Erondelle already promised in 1609 ‘to endeauour my selfe to doe better heereafter’ (¶¶2v).

Finally, there are many cases where the translator simply states as a fact that he or his work is of a lesser quality. From ‘vnskilfulnesse’, ‘an vnskilful hand’, ‘my slender skill’ and ‘my skille much lesse in the dooing thereof’ to ‘a poore shew’, ‘this poore Translation’, ‘this poor and slender present’, ‘this poore gifte’, ‘this poore paynes’ and ‘this poore myte, I meane my labour in translating this little pamphlet’, there is no end to the translator’s self-deprecation.³⁷³ The paratexts accompanying these translations of navigational works provide ample opportunity for translators to feel on

³⁷³ See respectively STC 24931, ¶v; STC 3398, π2r; STC 21545, A3r; STC 18487, A2v; STC 10529, A3r; STC 15691, A4r; STC 16805, ♣2r; STC 16807, a4r; STC 17784, A3v and STC 18417, A1v.

the one hand that they are serving their compatriots and performing a useful and significant duty, but on the other that their abilities are rather inadequate to the task.

The sense of hierarchy between the source text and the translation, the author and the translator, is also connected to the methods of Renaissance translation as discussed earlier. According to Theo Hermans, there is a link between

both the principle of word-for-word translation as an openly acknowledged norm or an underlying, distant ideal, and the strongly hierarchical power relation that prevails between the original and its translation. In Renaissance conceptions of translations these two things tend to go hand in hand anyway: the more marked the sense of inferiority and constriction on the translator's part, the more he is likely to cling to the original's every word.³⁷⁴

It would be interesting to see if this applies to the translations discussed here, namely to research whether those translators that present themselves as being inferior also used a word-for-word approach in their translation. However, since I am not doing a close textual analysis of these texts in comparison to their originals, such research goes beyond the scope of this thesis.

³⁷⁴ Hermans, 108.

CHAPTER 4

MARTIN CORTÉS'S *BREUE COMPENDIO* IN ENGLISH TRANSLATION

So far, we have discussed specific aspects of translating navigational manuals in early modern England, namely the social and print context in which they were undertaken, the translations themselves and the paratexts. In the present chapter, we shall examine one particular text, bearing in mind all we have said so far about the production of translated navigational materials. It will serve as a case study to highlight the points that we have made so far.

In 1551, a textbook discussing the art of navigation appeared in Seville. The full title reads as follows: *Breue compendio de la sphaera y de la arte de nauegar con nuevos instrumentos y reglas exemplificado con muy subtiles demonstraciones: compuesto por Martin Cortes natural de burjalaroz en el reyno de Aragon y de presente vezino de la ciudad de Cadiz: dirigido al inuictissimo Monarcha Carlo Quinto Rey de las Hespañas etc. Señor Nuestro*. The full title provides us with useful information about the author, Martin Cortés, but also with a dedicatee, namely Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, and King of Spain from 1516 until 1556. The work was reprinted in 1556, both editions being produced by the printer Anton Alvarez in Seville. Cortés's *Breue compendio* was translated into English for the first time in 1561 and published in an impressive total of ten editions before 1640. To what did it owe its success? Who was responsible for it? Who was involved in the making of these books and why? These are the questions I shall seek to answer in this chapter.

I shall start by discussing the socio-cultural context in which the author produced the *Breue compendio*, taking a closer look at the author himself and describing the contents of the book. I shall then discuss the bibliographical context, focussing firstly on just *how many* Spanish and English editions there were, and secondly on *when* they were published. This will be followed by a description of the journey from Spanish original to English translation and its subsequent editions. Finally, I shall analyse the most relevant paratexts. Despite the obvious importance of Cortés's *Breue compendio* and its extraordinary reception in England, no in-depth study of the work and its translation such as I propose has so far been undertaken.

1. Context and Author

Although Martin Cortés's *Breue compendio* achieved widespread fame, details about his life are extremely scarce. He was born in Bujaraloz, a municipality in the province of Zaragoza in Aragón. His exact date of birth is unknown, yet it must have been sometime in the beginning of the sixteenth century. His parents, Martin Cortés and Martina Albacar, were of noble descent.³⁷⁵ It is believed that he had a university education but it is not known what, where, when or with whom he studied. Two possible places are Zaragoza, his home province, or Cádiz.³⁷⁶ The latter is suggested because Cortés moved to Cádiz in 1530 and lived there for the rest of his life. No documents remain to show us what he studied, but judging from his knowledge of

³⁷⁵ Fernandez de Navarrete, II, 429; Lopez Piñero, *El arte de navegar*, 164; Lopez Piñero, *Ciencia y técnica*, 202.

³⁷⁶ Picatoste y Rodríguez, 61.

classical authors and similar topics, it is believed that he was at least trained in Philosophy and the Arts.³⁷⁷

Why Cortés moved to Cádiz or what profession he exercised there is unknown. Felipe Picatoste believes he devoted his leisure time to cosmography and navigation, thereby perhaps implying that his profession was unrelated to this field of study. A. F. Allison, on the other hand, joins Antonio Barrera in stating that Cortés ‘had been teaching cosmography and the art of navigation to pilots in Cádiz since 1530’.³⁷⁸ This would mean that he was an expert in this field already, prior to moving to Cádiz. That Cortés was involved in navigation from a professional point of view seems almost evident given the practical nature of this book. It is not surprising that Margaret Munsterberg describes him as ‘a teacher of navigation and a geographer of repute’ and that Escartí says he ‘dedicated himself to teaching’.³⁷⁹ However, I believe it is more likely that Cortés picked up the required knowledge of navigation, or at least most of it, *after* moving to Cádiz. This would make sense given its prime geographical location and proximity to Seville and thus to the Casa de Contratación (House of Trade), which was established there in 1503 by Queen Isabella I of Castile and sought to control and regulate all aspects of Spanish exploration and trade voyages. As Julio Guillén y Tato states, Cortés ‘only saw the sea during the years he lived in Cádiz’ but we cannot know for sure what his exact profession was since ‘it is not recorded nor did he declare that he was employed in navigation’.³⁸⁰

³⁷⁷ Picatoste y Rodríguez, 61; ‘Cortes de Albacar, Martín’, *Gran Enciclopedia Aragonesa*.

³⁷⁸ Barrera, ‘Navigation Manual of Cortés’; See also Allison, 59.

³⁷⁹ Munsterberg, ‘The Art of Navigation’, 9; ‘se dedicó a la enseñanza’ (Escartí, 87).

³⁸⁰ ‘y sólo vió la mar en los años que residio en Cádiz [...] no consta ni él declara que se emplease en la navegación’ (Guillén y Tato, 13).

Life in Cádiz, ‘el ambiente gaditano’, definitely influenced and maybe even inspired Cortés to write his seminal work, *Breue compendio de la sphaera y de la arte de nauegar*.³⁸¹ It was finished in 1545 but did not appear in print until 1551, as we have said. Of the remainder of his life we know nothing. Some sources say he died in 1582, but where they obtained this information is not indicated and other sources unfortunately do not give any date of death.³⁸²

2. The Book: *Breue compendio de la sphaera*, or *The Arte of Navigation*

Cortés himself best explains what he sets out to do in this book in his dedication to Charles V. In the words of Eden’s English translation, Cortés stated he was the first to

haue brought the arte of Nauigation into a briefe compendiousnesse, geuing infaylable principles and euident demonstrations, descrybyng the practyse and speculation of the same, geuyng also true rules to Maryners, & shewyng wayes to Pilotes, by teachyng them the making and vse of instrumentes, to knowe and take the altitude of the sunne, to knowe the tydes or ebbyng and flowyng of the sea, howe to order theyr cardes and cōpasses for Nauigations, geuing them instructions of the course of the Sunne & motions of the Moone: teaching them furthermore the makyng of Dyalles both for the day and for the nyght, so certen, that in all places they shall shewe the true houres without defaute. And [I] haue likewise declared the secrete propertie of the lode stone, with the maner and

³⁸¹ ‘Cortes de Albar, Martín’, *Gran Enciclopedia Aragonesa*.

³⁸² Escartí ‘Un mundo para el César Carlos’, 87 and Allison, 59.

causes of the Northeastinge & Norwesting (commonly called the variatiõ of the compasse) with also instrumentes therunto belonging. (1561 ed., A2v–A3)

The book is structured in three parts. The first ‘entreateth of the composition of the worlde: And of the vniuersall principles for the arte of Nauigation’ (1561 ed., A4v) and contains twenty chapters. It discusses issues such as the movements and size of the earth (e.g. latitude and longitude), the divisions of the sphere (e.g. horizon, meridian, zodiac), the geographical climates, and finally ‘a series of definitions of cosmographical terms’.³⁸³ Cortés wrote the second and third part of his work because ‘even though the first part might satisfy the theoretical knowledge, it was not enough for the actual practice of navigation’.³⁸⁴ Therefore the second part deals with ‘the Motions of the Sunne, and the Moone: And of the effectes caused thereby’ (1561 ed., C6v), again in twenty chapters. The course and declinations of the sun are specifically described, along with the relevant instruments (e.g. sun dials, nocturnals). Furthermore, Cortés tackles the calculation of the tides, the seasons and the weather. The final part is the actual practical manual in the sense that it ‘entreateth of the composition and vse of Instrumentes: and Rules for the Arte of Nauigation’ (1561 ed., G6) in fourteen chapters. This part ends with ‘wise admonitions on errors, omissions, and false estimates to be avoided’.³⁸⁵

The division into theory and practice makes sense in the context of the Casa de Contratación where Cortés’s book was used for teaching, as we shall discuss later. The

³⁸³ ‘una serie de definiciones de términos cosmográficos’ (Picatoste y Rodríguez, 63).

³⁸⁴ ‘si bien satisfacía la parte digamos *teórica* del conocimiento, no era suficiente para la práctica de la navegación’ (Escartí, 90).

³⁸⁵ Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, 75.

first part comprises subjects that the cosmographers at the Casa would have studied and taught. It is descriptive and theoretical in nature. This is spread over thirty-six of the total 160 pages, thus representing roughly 20% of the work. The second part, however, is more mathematical and astronomical. It discusses the different phenomena a mariner will come across and how to calculate them. Its sixty-three pages represent about 40% of the total. The last part deals in more detail with the instruments themselves, not only how to use them but also how to make them. It, too, represents approximately 40%, being sixty-one pages long.

That the crucial importance of Cortés's work lies in this third and final part is evident from Waters's detailed history of nautical instruments and navigational practices. As Waters explains, we are indebted to Cortés for one of the earliest mentions of gimbals, for the earliest description in print of an instrument that could mechanically show the Rule of the North Star, and for instructions on how to make and use a common sea-compass, a cross-staff, an astrolabe and a mariner's chart.³⁸⁶ Cortés also 'invented the process of spherical projection', but his biggest scientific contribution was his description and analysis of the variation of the compass.³⁸⁷ He was the 'first writer to postulate that it was caused by terrestrial "attraction", and to give the sum total of knowledge on the subject at the time'.³⁸⁸ Cortés's descriptions are accompanied by several tables, thirty large and complicated images and a map of part of the old and new continent.

³⁸⁶ See Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, for the mention of gimbals (28), mechanical instrument (45), sea-compass (26), cross-staff (54), astrolabe (56), mariner's chart (63). See also *Printing and the Mind of Man* for the mention of the cross-staff (45) and the astrolabe (45).

³⁸⁷ Warshaw, 79.

³⁸⁸ Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, 71. See also Lopez Piñero, *Ciencia y técnica*, 205; Warshaw, 78 and Millas Vallicrosa, 337.

3. The Editions

3.1. The Spanish Editions

Martin Cortés's *Breue Compendio* was written in 1545 in Cádiz at the request of Alvaro de Bazan, captain general of the Navy.³⁸⁹ This is the same year in which Pedro Medina, whom we discussed earlier (see p. 72), wrote his *Arte de Navegar* and had it published in Valladolid. Cortés's work, however, as we said earlier, was first published only six years later, in 1551, in Seville.³⁹⁰ So, although the two works were written at roughly the same time, Medina's was the first to appear in print. This is further explained by Felipe Picatoste y Rodríguez:

Cortés did not give it to the press, or the printing was not finished until the year 1551, which explains the contradiction there is between this date and the affirmation that Martin Cortés makes in his work, in the dedication to the Emperor, of him being 'the first to reduce the art of navigation into a brief compendium'.³⁹¹

³⁸⁹ See Prologue to Alvaro de Bazan: 'illustre señor [...] acorde ordenar este compendio de nauegacion' (1551 ed., 7).

³⁹⁰ That the work was written in 1545 is evident from the text itself, where we find such statements as 'this present yeare 1545' (1561 ed., 18v). See also 'No obstante, la lectura del texto demuestra que fue terminado en 1545, al mismo tiempo que el otro gran tratadista de navegación del siglo XVI, Pedro de Medina, imprimía en Valladolid su *Arte de navegar*.' (González González, 321-22) González González cites three further textual examples where the year 1545 is mentioned, according to the 1551 edition: one on Fol. 32 and two on Fol. 35.

³⁹¹ 'Sin embargo, Cortés no le dió á la imprenta ó no le acabó de imprimir hasta al año 1551, lo cual explica la contradicción que hay entre esta fecha y la afirmación que hace Martín Cortés en su obra al dedicársela el Emperador, de que ha sido "el primero que redujo á breve compendio la navegación"[.]' (Picatoste y Rodríguez, 61). See also Guillén y Tato, 8-9.

All this is confirmed by the colophon, which states the work was printed on 27 May 1551 in Seville at the house of Anton Alvarez.³⁹² The second edition, which appeared with the same printer, is dated 10 January 1556.³⁹³

Despite these colophons, some sources have debated both the place and year of publication. Rather than Seville, Cádiz is given by Munsterberg, Allison and Sabin. They offer no evidence for this, although Sabin reports that he has ‘seen an English catalogue in which the work is described [*Cadiz*. 1551], which is, perhaps, an error, though Graesse has it thus also, and Navarrete, in his “*Historia de la Nautica*,” 1816, p. 163, seems to confirm it.’³⁹⁴ It might indeed be an error, since Navarrete specifies Seville as the place of publication in his later *Biblioteca marítima española* in 1851.³⁹⁵

With regard to the date of publication, Munsterberg, in her article ‘The Art of Navigation’, mentions a 1546 first edition, published in Cádiz.³⁹⁶ George Sarton, in his summary of Munsterberg’s article, states that the ‘first edition is apparently lost’, but this is not exactly true.³⁹⁷ What Munsterberg actually says in her article is that ‘it is doubtful whether the first edition exists at all; even the *Enciclopedia Universal* mentions only the edition of 1551’. Again, however, she presents no evidence either way. To summarise the facts that we do have, the *Breue compendio* was written in 1545, first published in 1551, and then reissued in 1556.³⁹⁸

³⁹² ‘Acabose la presente obra llamada Breue compendio dela spha y dela arte d’ nauegar: cōpuesto por Martin Cortes. Acabose oy miercoles bispera de Corpus christi a .xxvij. dias del mes de Mayo año de nuestro señor Jesu Christo de .1551. años. Impresso en la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Seuilla en casa de Anton Alvarez impressor d’ libros el la calle de lombardas junto ala Madalena.’ (1551 ed., colophon)

³⁹³ ‘Acabose la presente obra Breue compendio de la spha y de la arte de nauegar: compuesto por Martin Cortes. Acabose a diez de Enero. año de .1556. Impresso en la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Seuilla en casa de Anton Alvarez impressor de libros.’ (1556 ed., colophon)

³⁹⁴ Sabin, I, 569; Munsterberg, 9; Allison, 59.

³⁹⁵ Fernandez de Navarrete, II, 430.

³⁹⁶ Munsterberg, 9.

³⁹⁷ Sarton, 200.

³⁹⁸ We find these editions in the following reference works:

3.2. The English Editions

Where the English translations are concerned, everyone agrees on the first edition, but the dates and number of subsequent editions again cause confusion when comparing different sources. The first English translation was printed in 1561 and the last — in the period under study, namely 1500 to 1640 — in 1630. The *Short-Title Catalogue* [STC] lists ten editions in total, which is echoed by José María López Piñero.³⁹⁹ W. G. L. Randles, however, counts seven, but he presumably means the seven that appeared during the sixteenth century, as does Antonio Barrera, though the latter at least correctly specifies the context.⁴⁰⁰

Starting with the sixteenth-century editions, the *STC* gives the following seven: 1561, 1572, 1576, 1579, 1584, 1589, and 1596 [STC 5798-5803].⁴⁰¹ This seems fairly straightforward so far until, upon digging a bit deeper, one discovers some complications: firstly, the absence of the 1576 edition in many sources, and secondly, two other supposed editions, in 1577 and 1580, for which no evidence is given.

David W. Waters, always referred to for his rigorous research on the topic of navigation, states that ‘[t]he year 1579 saw a *third* edition of Eden’s translation [...] —

1551 ed.: Palau y Dulcet, 63378; Simón Díaz, 824; Sabin, 16966; Palau Claveras, 205; *Printing and the Mind of Man*, 76; *Science Through the Ages*, 36.

1556 ed.: Palau y Dulcet, 63379; Simón Díaz, 825; Palau Claveras, 208.

³⁹⁹ López Piñero, *El arte de navegar*, 170; López Piñero, *Ciencia y técnica*, 202.

⁴⁰⁰ Randles, 53; Barrera, ‘Navigation Manual of Cortés’.

⁴⁰¹ We find these editions in the following reference works:

1561 ed.: STC, 5798; Palau y Dulcet, 63380; Simón Díaz, 826; Sabin, 16968; Allison, C47.

1572 ed.: STC, 5799; Palau y Dulcet, 63380; Simón Díaz, 827; Allison, C47.1.

1576 ed.: STC, 5799.5.

1579 ed.: STC, 5800; Palau y Dulcet, 63380; Allison, C47.2.

1584 ed.: STC, 5801; Palau y Dulcet, 63380; Sabin, 16968; Allison, C47.3.

1589 ed.: STC, 5802; Palau y Dulcet, 63380; Simón Díaz, 828; Sabin, 16968; Allison, C47.4.

1596 ed.: STC, 5803; Palau y Dulcet, 63380; Simón Díaz, 829; Sabin, 16968; Allison, C47.5.

the second had appeared in 1572' [*italics added*].⁴⁰² Waters, and several others, apparently omit the 1576 edition.⁴⁰³ Palau y Dulcet is guilty of the same omission, yet also introduces a supposed 1580 edition. Even though he says that 'this first edition and the following ones in 1572, 1579, and 1580 are rare', he offers no evidence and I have not come across any other references to a 1580 edition.⁴⁰⁴ Another element of possible confusion is added by Picatoste, who states that, after Richard Eden's translation of 1561, another edition of this work was published by William Bourne in 1577.⁴⁰⁵ The only other mention of this supposed 1577 edition by Bourne appears in Julio Rey Pastor's work, though his paragraph on the matter relies heavily on Picatoste's writing, obviously the source of his information.⁴⁰⁶

This reference to a 1577 edition is clearly a mistake. Bourne had nothing to do with the publication of Eden's translation. Martin Cortés was, however, the main inspiration for Bourne's own *A Regiment for the Sea*. First published in 1574, it was re-edited for a third time in 1577, which could be what Picatoste is referring to. Even though, as E. G. R. Taylor writes, '[t]he *Regiment* was based largely on Richard Eden's English translation of Martin Cortes', it is a separate work altogether and not simply another edition.⁴⁰⁷ Bourne wanted to add to Eden's text rather than repeat what was already said. As he writes in his preface to the reader, he would provide 'other necessarie things meete to be knowne in Nauigation, and not mentioned in the booke of

⁴⁰² Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, 150.

⁴⁰³ So do, amongst others, González González, 323; Guillén y Tato, 9 & 14; Escartí, 88; Parker, 50 & 92; Adams, Eleanor B., 31; Palau y Dulcet, iv, 147; and *Science Through the Ages*, 100.

⁴⁰⁴ '[e]sta primera edición y las que le siguieron de 1572, 1579 y 1580, son raras' (Palau y Dulcet, iv, 147). The *Science Through the Ages* catalogue took their information clearly from Palau's bibliography, which explains why they also omit the 1576 edition yet introduce a 1580 one. (*Science through the Ages*, 100)

⁴⁰⁵ Picatoste y Rodríguez, 62.

⁴⁰⁶ Rey Pastor, 74.

⁴⁰⁷ Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners*, 322. See also Turner, 'Bourne, William', *ODNB*; Ravenhill, 81.

Martin Curtise called the *Arte of Nauigation*' (STC 3422, A4). And he continues, very explicitly, 'Neyther doe I meane to write of any thing mentioned in that booke: for that it is there sufficiently declared already' (STC 3422, A4). What he did intend, was to make his work 'a manual of more use to the practical seaman'.⁴⁰⁸ I shall not go into detail as to how Bourne's work relates to that of Cortés, however, because the *Regiment* is not a translation and thus falls outside the scope of my corpus.⁴⁰⁹

The seventeenth-century English editions, according to the *STC*, are dated 1609, 1615, and, finally, 1630 [STC 5804-5808.5].⁴¹⁰ The 1630 edition is omitted by some secondary sources.⁴¹¹ Yet Clements Markham, in his discussion on the fathers of English geography, still claims that 'the translation of Cortes went through *ten* editions between 1561 and *1615*' [*italics added*], so he, too, must have been confused about the Bourne edition, a supposed 1580 edition, and/or the 1576 edition.

3.3. Publication Pattern

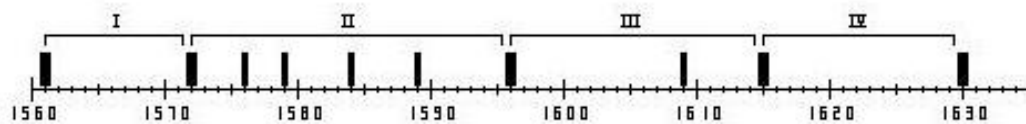


Figure 13: Publication pattern of the English Cortés editions

⁴⁰⁸ Turner, 'Bourne, William', *ODNB*.

⁴⁰⁹ For more on this topic, see Taylor, 'William Bourne: A Chapter in Tudor Geography', 334; Taylor, *Tudor Geography*, 153-58.

⁴¹⁰ We find these editions in the following reference works:

1609 ed.: STC, 5804; Palau y Dulcet, 63380; Simón Díaz, 830; Sabin, 16968; Allison, C47.6.

1615 ed.: STC, 5805; Palau y Dulcet, 63380; Simón Díaz, 831; Allison, C47.7.

1630 ed.: STC, 5805.5; Palau y Dulcet, 63380; Allison, C47.8.

⁴¹¹ Adams, Eleanor B., 31; Bennett, 213. See also 'dos en el siglo XVII' ('Cortes', *Gran enciclopedia aragonesa*).

When looking at the pattern of publication, one could say that there are four different phases (fig. 13). The first edition obviously marks the beginning of the first phase. A new phase starts with the second edition, revised by the translator, Richard Eden. It spans the years 1572–1595 and contains another four editions, which are very similar to the second edition despite certain changes in printers, booksellers and title-pages. The third phase starts in 1596 when John Tapp makes significant editorial changes in Eden's text. Given the limited number of changes, it also includes the 1609 edition. Tapp revises his earlier editions in 1615 and this new edition marks the fourth phase. Finally, we find last English Cortés edition in 1630, again revised by Tapp.

The first phase lasts roughly ten years and contains one edition. If we take this as our standard measuring unit, we can say that one edition in ten years is the 'normal' publication rate (fig. 14). During the second phase, this publication rate is doubled. Phase III is normal again, while the last phase slows down to about two thirds of the standard publication rate. The final publication in 1630 marks the end of the pre-1641 English Cortés editions.

Phase	Years	Editions	Publication rate
Phase I	11 > 10	1	1 in 10 years = 1 x
Phase II	24 > 25	5	5 in 25 years = 2 x
Phase III	19 > 20	2	2 in 20 years = 1 x
Phase IV	15	1	1 in 15 years = 2/3 x
Final	-	1	-

Fig. 14: Publication rate of the English Cortés editions

I have found no indication of why there were so many new editions in rapid succession in the second phase. Taylor says that 'new editions were demanded in 1572, 1589, and 1596' but gives no further evidence or explanation for this 'demand', nor does she

mention the other editions of this period, namely those of 1576, 1579 and 1584.⁴¹² Who ‘demanded’ them is not indicated, though I take it to be the Muscovy Company since they ordered the translation in the first place, as we shall see later (see page 192).⁴¹³

If we assume that Taylor is right about the demand and that it was indeed the Muscovy Company who ordered the 1572, 1589 and 1596 editions, a possible explanation for the three she did *not* mention might be gleaned from their title-pages. On that of the 1576 edition, for example, we find: ‘Whereunto may be added at the wyl of the byer, another very fruitefull and necessarie booke of nauigation, tr. out of Latine by the sayde Eden’. The suggestion is repeated in both the 1579 and 1584 editions. The ‘necessarie booke’ was Eden’s translation, *A very necessarie and profitable booke concerning nauigation* [STC 23659], of Jean Taisnier’s work on magnetism, *De natura magnetis et ejus effectibus* (see p. 126). The dedication of the English translation offers a clue as to how this association of the two works came about. As Richard Eden writes:

I chaunced in the meane tyme, to meete with my olde acquayntance and freend, Richard Jugge, Printer to the Queenes Maiestie, who had many yeeres before, printed the Booke of Marten Curtes, of the Art of Nauigation, by me translated out of the Spanyshe tongue. Whereof, hauing with him some conference, he declared that he woulde prynt that booke agayne yf I woulde take the paynes to devise some addition touchyng the same matter, that myght be joyned thereto. At which tyme, havyng with me in the Latine tongue, these bookes here

⁴¹² Taylor, ‘William Bourne: A Chapter in Tudor Geography’, 334.

⁴¹³ Attribution to the Muscovy Company for demanding new editions would not hold true for the 1596 edition, however, since this was instigated by John Tapp (see p. 198).

folowyng printed, whiche I brought with me out of Fraunce, I soone agreed to his honest request to translate them into Englyshe.⁴¹⁴

This means these editions were part of a bookselling strategy; as such, they were probably printed on Eden and Jugge's own accord, rather than being the result of an official order by the Muscovy Company. Furthermore, I would suggest that it was more a question of their honing in on the popularity of Cortés's work than the other way around, since Taisnier's book was only translated and printed once.

The most remarkable fact concerning the editions discussed in this chapter is the imbalance between the Spanish and English publications of Cortés's *Breue compendio*. Clearly, the book was very popular in England, as can be judged from the ten editions. In Spain, on the other hand, the work was printed twice only, in 1551 and 1556. This meant that the Spaniards had stopped printing it even before the first English translation appeared. This is difficult to explain. Since the *Breue compendio* was predominantly a teaching tool in the Casa de Contratación, about which more in the following section, the school perhaps stocked several copies, thereby negating the need for individuals to buy the work themselves. Perhaps the teachers transmitted its contents orally during the students' training. Or perhaps they had, by the time it was out of print, already moved on to newer, possibly more innovative, books. Until further evidence as to its reception and use in Spain becomes available, this question will remain open for discussion. Fortunately, and rather ironically, we know more about its life in England, as we shall see.

⁴¹⁴ Taisnier, ***2.

4. The Journey: From Spanish original to English translations

4.1. The First English Translation (1561)

The navigator Stephen Borough succeeded his teacher Richard Chancellor, after his death in 1556, in leading exploration voyages for the Muscovy Company. In 1558, near the end of Queen Mary's reign, Borough was granted access to Seville's Casa de Contratación. Founded in 1503, this institution had three major roles. Firstly, as its name indicates, it served as a centre of commerce where all transactions that had to do with trade between the Crown and the Indies were duly noted, including detailed accounts of all goods exported and imported. Leading on from that, it also served as a court of law for these matters. Its third, and for our present purposes most vital, function was that of a 'Hydrographic Bureau and School of Navigation, the earliest and most important in the history of modern Europe'.⁴¹⁵ This was headed by the Pilot Major, who was assisted by several experienced mariners. The famous explorer Américo Vespucci (1454–1512), was the first to hold this office. Part of the teaching was also conducted by cosmographers, while a 'technical office where charts were designed or authenticated for use by Spanish seamen' was also housed in the Casa.⁴¹⁶ All Spanish navigators had to take the classes offered and successfully complete examinations for each trade route.

It was here, at the very core of Spain's navigational research and training centre, that Borough was allowed to see the new scientific instruments, the training and

⁴¹⁵ Haring, 35.

⁴¹⁶ Haring, 298.

examination of pilots, as well as the textbooks used. That the Spanish would give a foreigner access to all these trade secrets is quite remarkable since Charles V had formally prohibited it in 1547.⁴¹⁷ Waters calls it ‘one inestimable gain the English had won from the Spanish marriage’.⁴¹⁸ This is echoed by Sandman and Ash, who write that ‘Borough took advantage of an especially warm period in Anglo-Spanish relations after the marriage of Spain’s King Philip and England’s Queen Mary’.⁴¹⁹ The thirty-two year old Borough was the right man for the job, having all the required technical skills, first-hand navigational experience from his northern exploratory routes, as well as a speaking knowledge of Spanish and an understanding of Portuguese. The terms of this visit were clear: Borough was only granted access in return for his knowledge of the northern routes.⁴²⁰ This mutual exchange of information came after a period of avoiding conflict by operating in different areas in order not to trespass on Spanish exploration. As Baldwin says, Borough’s Arctic trips were ‘part of a complex strategy to expand trade without operating in conflict with Spanish naval ambitions’.⁴²¹

Munsterberg is quite vague about the cause and effect of Borough’s visit to Spain and the resulting English Cortés editions, merely stating that ‘it is possible that [in Spain] he conceived the idea of making Cortés’s work useful to English mariners’.⁴²² Waters, and others after him, present a more clear-cut case of Borough bringing a copy of the Cortés manual back with him with the specific intention of using it for English gain.⁴²³ Borough was apparently so impressed by the Spanish system that

⁴¹⁷ Baldwin, ‘Borough, Stephen’, *ODNB*.

⁴¹⁸ Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, 102.

⁴¹⁹ Sandman & Ash, 841.

⁴²⁰ Ash, 117.

⁴²¹ Baldwin, ‘Borough, Stephen’, *ODNB*.

⁴²² Munsterberg, 9.

⁴²³ Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, 103-107.

he wanted to set up a similar centre in England, hoping it would result in better training and hence more skilled and qualified pilots. He therefore petitioned the Crown in 1562 to create a post equivalent to the Spanish pilot-major. Queen Elizabeth proposed to create such an office in January 1564 to be held by Borough himself. These plans, however, were never realised. Nevertheless, Borough did obtain authority over pilot's training, although not the kind he had envisaged, when he was made chief pilot and one of the four masters of the Queen's ships in the Medway in 1563, and later master of Trinity House, the guild of mariners who regulated the pilotage of ships, in 1572.⁴²⁴ However, Haring writes, 'as there was no other machinery for carrying it into effect, such as existed in the Casa de Contratación, it was soon lost sight of, and the office of chief pilot allowed to lapse'.⁴²⁵

After Borough returned from Seville, he handed a copy of Cortés's *Breue compendio* over to the Muscovy Company to have it translated. This particular merchant company was founded after the large-scale 1553 expedition, which hoped to find a north-east passage to the Indies. With a charter granted in 1555, the Company officially had the 'tiresome and verbose title of "marchants adventurers of England, for the discovery of lands, territories, iles, dominions, and seigniories unknowen, and not before that late adventure or enterprise by sea or navigation, commonly frequented"', to quote Haring.⁴²⁶ A similar description of this title can be found in Eden's dedication, which I shall discuss in detail shortly. Despite this long official title, the Company, as Willan notes, 'became known conventionally as the Russia Company, or the Muscovy

⁴²⁴ Baldwin, 'Borough, Stephen', *ODNB*; Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, 107; Sandman & Ash, 841; Ash, p. 118-121; Waters, 'Science and the Techniques', 214; Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, 29-30.

⁴²⁵ Haring, 39. See also Baldwin, 'Borough, Stephen', *ODNB*.

⁴²⁶ Willan, 7.

Company, or the Company of Merchants trading with Russia'.⁴²⁷ Borough's handing over of the manual to the Company was indeed generous since 'maintaining craft secrecy and exploiting his exclusive possession of such valuable experience [... is what] a traditional pilot might have done'.⁴²⁸ Furthermore, by publishing the English translation at their expense in 1561, the Company made it accessible for the public at large, rather than keeping it within their own circle. This is in line with the Company's policy of sharing information for the better instruction of mariners. As Willan states, the Muscovy Company 'certainly paid for [... the] translation of the *Arte de Navegar* of Martin Cortes. Such encouragement to good seamanship had no doubt a commercial motive, but so too had exploration; neither was less interesting or less important because of that'.⁴²⁹

The task of translating was given to Richard Eden (c.1520–1576), who was already associated with the Company in his capacity as translator. Having translated many navigational works before this date, several of them from Spanish, and being an active supporter of a British empire, Eden was definitely well-connected and well-equipped for this undertaking. That the Cortés translation was of value for the Muscovy Company is clear from his dedication:

To the ryght worshypfull syr VVyllyam Garrerd Knyght, and Master Thomas Lodge, Aldermen of the Citie of London, and Gouvernours of the honorable felowshyp or societie, aswell of certeine of the Nobilitie, as of Marchauntes aduenturers, for the discouery of Landes, Territories, Ilandes, and Seignories

⁴²⁷ Willan, 7.

⁴²⁸ Ash, 116-117. See also Taylor, *Tudor Geography*, 23.

⁴²⁹ Willan, 283.

vnknownen, and not before their first aduenture or enterprise by Seas or Nauigations commonly frequented: And to the right worshypfull the Consulles, Assistentes, and comminaltie of the same societie, Richarde Eden wyssheth health and prosperitie. (1561 ed., *2)

The dedicatees were all members of the Muscovy Company and represented the prosperous London merchant class. Sir William Garrard (c.1510–1571) made his fortune as a merchant in the cloth trade with Antwerp, as did Eden's family.⁴³⁰ His political career went from alderman (1547) to sheriff (1552), to mayor of the City of London (1555) and a Member of Parliament under Mary (1558). He was named a consul of the Muscovy Company in 1555 and from 1561 onwards acted as sole or joint governor, with occasional meetings regarding voyages being held at his house.⁴³¹ Sir Thomas Lodge (1509/10–1585) pursued a rather similar career.⁴³² Also engaged in foreign trade with Antwerp, he too moved through the London political offices, finally becoming mayor in 1562. He was also a member of the Grocers' Company, later becoming warden and master. Being an assistant to the governors of the Muscovy Company when it was founded, he joined Garrard as governor in 1561.⁴³³ It is not surprising, then, that Eden dedicated this valuable work to the Company's members and officers but singled out Garrard and Lodge for special honour.

Eden nevertheless also thanks other Company members by name later in his dedication for having facilitated the translation: 'And for the same intent was the fyrst

⁴³⁰ Miller, 'Garrard, Sir William', *ODNB*; Hadfield, 'Eden, Richard', *ODNB*.

⁴³¹ Willan, 285; Beazley, 121.

⁴³² McConnell, 'Lodge, Sir Thomas', *ODNB*.

⁴³³ Willan, 285.

that moued certen worshypfull of your company, as Syr William Garrerd, Maister William Mericke, Maister Blase Sanders, and Maister Edwarde Castlen, to haue this worke translated into the Englyshe tongue' (1561 ed., **1). William Meyrick or Merick was a member of the Muscovy Company from its foundation, being their London agent from 1560 to 1563 and on later various occasions their Chief Agent in Russia.⁴³⁴ Likewise, Edward Castelin (*fl.* 1554–1578) was a merchant and charter member of the Company. He was probably part of the large Castelin family of merchant adventurers who were active as Anglo-Spanish traders.⁴³⁵ Blase Sanders was a Grocer and acquaintance of Meyrick.⁴³⁶ He might also be the same person as the Blase Saunders who held the office of Garblership of London, was a cousin of Sir Francis Walsingham and died in 1581.⁴³⁷ Sanders, Garrard, Meyrick and Lodge are all listed as governors of the Muscovy Company when they sign a document together in 1561, the same year that Eden addresses them in this work.⁴³⁸

The translation was printed by the well-established Richard Jugge. Known predominantly for his state and church publications, Jugge had been granted patents and licences by three successive monarchs: under Edward VI a licence to print the New Testament in English (1551), under Mary a patent to all books of common law (1556), and finally, under Elizabeth, he became, jointly with John Cawood, queen's printer

⁴³⁴ Raiswell, 'Meyrick, Sir John', *ODNB* and Willan, 286-88.

⁴³⁵ McDermott, 'Castelin, Edward', *ODNB*.

⁴³⁶ In 'Appendix H: to Memorial XXIV' Sanders is mentioned for having delivered a message from Merick to Secretary of State William Cecil.

⁴³⁷ 'Offices and officers', I.279- I.284. Garblers were responsible for checking the purity of spices and other commodities; this was a duty that belonged to the Grocers of London.

⁴³⁸ The document in question is 'A remembrance giuen by vs the Gouvernours, Consuls, and Assistants of the company of Merchants trading into Rußia, the eight day of May 1561, to our trustie friend Anthonie Ienkinson, at his departure towards Russia, and so to Persia, in this our eight iourney' and is signed by the governors 'William Gerard, Thomas Lodge, William Merike, Blase Sanders'. It can be found in Hakluyt, *Principal navigations*, Ff3r-Ff4r [STC 12626a].

(1560).⁴³⁹ Despite the fact that the bulk of Jugge's work was of a religious or political nature, there are several reasons why the Muscovy Company would have approached him to print this translation. He was the queen's printer and as such well-connected and probably highly regarded in the still relatively new Stationers' Company, where he served as warden and later master on various occasions. In fact, on the original list of the stationers as entered in the charter, Jugge occupies a fairly high position. As Duff says, 'Jugge's place above so many senior men may be due to the importance of his position in the trade.'⁴⁴⁰ Indeed, his printing shop must have been quite extensive, given the period's high demand for bibles and state documents and his massive output. The *English Short Title Catalogue* [ESTC] lists about 100 entries for Jugge until 1560, half of which are jointly published with Cawood. Last but by no means least was his notable skill as a printer. As Tedder says, '[a]ll Jugge's books [...] are of an exceptionally high quality. The abundant use of elaborate woodcuts and decorated initials is characteristic of Jugge's work.'⁴⁴¹ Such printing expertise was definitely required for Cortés's manual, which is full of tables, complicated illustrations and revolving diagrams.

4.2. New Editions (1572–1589)

As we have said, the translation was re-edited four times, in 1572, with minor corrections by Eden himself, and again in 1576, 1579 and 1584. By then, Borough, Eden, Garrard, Castelin and Jugge had all died, and Jugge's widow, Joan (?–1588) had

⁴³⁹ Tedder, 'Jugge, Richard', *ODNB* & Ryrice, 'Cawood, John', *ODNB*.

⁴⁴⁰ Duff, xxviii.

⁴⁴¹ Tedder, 'Jugge, Richard', *ODNB*.

taken over the responsibility of printing the 1579 and 1584 editions. In 1589, another edition appeared, still prefaced by Eden's dedicatory epistle but this time printed by Abel Jeffes 'at the charges of Richard Watkins', as it says on its title-page. Watkins (?–1599) was an 'ambitious' printer who 'became a Stationer just too late to have his name in the Charter list'.⁴⁴² He married Richard Jugge's youngest daughter, Katherine, on 3 May 1569 and went on to become warden of the Stationers' Company in 1583.⁴⁴³ He seems to have printed quite an extensive number of books until 1598 'when he appears to have been reduced to poor circumstances'.⁴⁴⁴ Abel Jeffes (*fl.* 1584–1599) had been a freeman of the Stationers' Company since 1579/80. He was charged in 1595 for printing 'lewde ballades and thinges very offensive', and had his press and letters seized.⁴⁴⁵ This led to imprisonment for resisting the Wardens' search. Ever since the Decree of 1586 the latter had had the right to 'search the premises of any members of the book trade to seize books which offended against the Decree and to carry away offending printing materials'.⁴⁴⁶ Jeffes seems to have caused offence on a few occasions. Initially, he was 'forgiven after an apology'.⁴⁴⁷ In 1592, however, he was 'com[m]ited to ward' for 'th[a]t he refused to deliu[er] the barre of his presse neither would deliu[er] any of the Booke[s] to be brought to the hall accordinge to the decrees. and also for th[a]t he vsed violence to our officer in the serche'.⁴⁴⁸ It is no surprise, then, that he was imprisoned once again in 1595 after a similar incident.

⁴⁴² Blagden, 50-51.

⁴⁴³ Tedder, 'Jugge, Richard', *ODNB* & Timperley, 428.

⁴⁴⁴ Duff, 166.

⁴⁴⁵ *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers*, 156.

⁴⁴⁶ Blagden, 72.

⁴⁴⁷ Blagden, 73.

⁴⁴⁸ *Records of the Stationers' Company, 1576-1602*, 42.

4.3. John Tapp as Editor (1596–1630)

From 1596 on, the publishing of Eden's translation was taken over by John Tapp (c.1575–1631). Discharged from the Drapers' Company in that same year and just over twenty years old, Tapp took it upon himself to update Eden's translation, because

it hath beene so often Imprinted, many faultes haue crept into it, through want of ouerseeing and good heed taking, which if they should proceed without corection, it woulde not onely be a disgrace vnto the Arte (which of it selfe is most commendable) and a discredit vnto the Author, which is most worthy of commendations, but also it woulde be a double damage vnto those which should put it in practise, for that some young Students not being exercised in the practise of the same, and finding some error therein, might be discouraged to proceed to the knowledge of this most excellent Arte. (1596 ed., A3–A3v)

He therefore corrected the mistakes he found, despite his 'small knowledge in that arte' (1596 ed., A3v) and added a declination table of the sun, which he calculated himself. This can be found in the 'addition to the arte of Nauigation' which follows the third part of Cortés's work. Apart from the declination table (1596 ed., L6–M4v), the work also contains an almanac for the next twenty-four years (1596 ed., M5–M5v) and a table to show what sign the moon would be in (1596 ed., M5v–M6). A calendar of the current year was added after the dedication, before the start of the first part of the text (1596 ed., A4–A6v). Tapp deleted the existing paratexts, added his own preface and dedicated it to 'the industrious Seamen and Mariners of England' (1596 ed., A3). This,

together with Tapp's relatively young age, suggests that he did not obtain much (financial) backing for this edition. He must nevertheless have received the right to undertake this task and even perhaps some money, since the work was printed 'by the assignes of Richard Watkins', as the title-page tells us. The books were to be sold by Hugh Astley (?–1609), whose shop specialised in nautical works. Like Tapp, Astley was originally a draper. Both men were admitted to the Stationers' Company 'by translation' from the Drapers' Company on 3 June 1600.⁴⁴⁹ Tapp took over Astley's business after his death, moving into his shop near London Bridge (see p. 255).

The actual printing itself was done by Edward Alde, son of the printer John Alde or Alday. He was given his freedom in the Stationers' Company 'by patronage' in 1584, taking over business from his father with the help of his mother Margaret (*fl.* 1584–1603).⁴⁵⁰ From 1589 onwards, he was a very prolific trade printer who mostly worked for other publishers. This method of taking on whatever assignment he was being paid for often got him into trouble. A year after the Cortés translation he was temporarily banned from printing. As Gadd explains, 'in 1597 his press and type were seized and defaced for printing a Catholic book, forcing him to petition the archbishop of Canterbury for reinstatement as a licensed printer.'⁴⁵¹ Similar incidents plagued Alde throughout his printing career. Despite these, however, Tapp continued to work on a regular basis with Alde until the latter's death in 1627/8.⁴⁵²

⁴⁴⁹ *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers*, 12 (Astley) & 263 (Tapp).

⁴⁵⁰ *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers*, 5.

⁴⁵¹ Gadd, 'Alde, Edward', *ODNB*. See also *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers*, 5-6.

⁴⁵² See *ESTC*: Tapp was involved in the publication of forty-one books up until 1627, thirty-two of which were printed by Alde and two by his wife Elizabeth.

The next edition in 1609 contains no new material but was printed for Tapp by John Windet (?–c.1615).⁴⁵³ Appearing in the Company's registers as 'John Wyndyert' in 1579, Windet had been an apprentice of John Alde's and started printing for himself in 1584.⁴⁵⁴ Having acquired three presses by 1586 and taken over the office of city printer to the City of London from John Wolfe in 1603, Windet had a very large output.⁴⁵⁵ Why Tapp switched printers is not known. In any case, John Windet must have known Edward Alde, the son of his former master. He printed one book for Edward's mother, Margaret,⁴⁵⁶ and three items jointly with Alde himself.⁴⁵⁷ The last one, STC 22142, was printed in 1609 by both Alde and Windet for John Tapp, the same year that Alde handed over the reprint of the Cortés translation to Windet. Perhaps Alde was simply too busy printing other books at the time and did not want to be responsible for the Cortés translation. It seems likely, then, that Tapp's working relationship with Windet was established through Alde, since it resulted in only three items: the Cortés translation, John Searle's *An ephemeris for nine yeeres* [STC 22142], and Francis Dillingham's *A golden keye, opening the locke to eternall happines* [STC 6886], all three printed in 1609. Also, by this time, Tapp had moved on from being a relatively unknown twenty-year-old enthused by Cortés's work to a navigation teacher and adviser in London. By joining the Stationers' Company in 1600 and inheriting Hugh Astley's business, he was able to publish navigational works himself, most

⁴⁵³ Both Escartí, 'Un mundo para el César Carlos', 88, and Guillén y Tato, 14, list Kingston as printer for the 1609 edition. The edition itself does not contain a colophon, nor is the printer indicated on the title-page or elsewhere. Windet is the printer attributed by the *STC*.

⁴⁵⁴ *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers*, 294–95.

⁴⁵⁵ See *ESTC*: 426 entries for Windet, ranging from 1584 until 1610.

⁴⁵⁶ STC 7690 'for the widow of Iohn Alde'.

⁴⁵⁷ STC 11924, *ESTC* s103157 and STC 22142. In all these items, it was a joint venture where Windet printed some quires, and Alde the rest. The *ESTC* expanded 'E. Alde' in the last case to 'Elizabeth Alde', which would indicate Edward Alde's wife. In my opinion it must refer to Edward himself, since his wife only took over the printing business after his death and was active as a bookseller from 1628 until 1640. See *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers*, 6.

notably his own *Seaman's kalendar*, which was published in 1602 and went through many reprints (see p. 37).⁴⁵⁸

A new edition of the Cortés translation, which was still Eden's, appeared in 1615, together with the preface to the reader that Tapp wrote in 1596. This time it was printed by William Stansby, who had been Windet's apprentice since 1589, became his co-partner in early 1609 and succeeded him after his death in about 1615. Like Jugge, Stansby was known for producing 'work of a better quality than most of the trade' and he had 'probably the second largest press in London after the royal printing house'.⁴⁵⁹ This is echoed by McKerrow, who informs us that, even though Stansby 'never appeared to have held any office in the Company, [...] he is frequently mentioned in the wills of other stationers and was a man of considerable position in the trade'.⁴⁶⁰ A new paratext is added to this edition, namely a dedication. This shows that Tapp, now forty years old, was much better connected than twenty years before when he did not dedicate his work to anyone. Just two years prior to this new Cortés edition, in 1613, he dedicated his own work, *The Pathway to Knowledge*, to Sir Thomas Smythe (c.1558–1625), who was by that time governor of both the Muscovy and Levant Companies as well as the newly founded East India Company.⁴⁶¹

For the Cortés edition, Tapp turned to Sir William Waad, whom he addresses in his dedicatory epistle as 'Knight, Lievtenant for the Kings most Excellent Maiestie, of his Highnesse Tovver of London' (1615 ed., A2). It is true that Waad, after a successful diplomatic career under Elizabeth, was knighted and given the lieutenancy of the

⁴⁵⁸ Le Fevre, 'Tapp, John', *ODNB*.

⁴⁵⁹ Bland, 'Stansby, William', *ODNB*.

⁴⁶⁰ *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers*, 256.

⁴⁶¹ Morgan, 'Smythe, Sir Thomas', *ODNB*.

Tower by James I (1603).⁴⁶² However, by the time this edition appeared, Robert Cecil had died, leaving Waad without a patron and protector. He was charged with embezzlement and forced to retire from his appointment in 1613, which meant that Tapp was thus addressing a sixty-nine-year-old retired administrator. However, his reason for doing so, as he himself mentions in the Epistle, is that Waad was ‘knowne to bee so great a furtherer of that Honourable action of *Virginea*, which may by Gods grace in after-times, proue not onely a direct path to perfection in Nauigation, but so commodious to the Republique’ (1615 ed., A3v). William Waad, like his father Armagil, whom Waad himself called ‘the English Columbus’, was very interested in voyages to the New World.⁴⁶³ He served on the governing council for the Virginia Company, to which Tapp is referring. This Company was set up by James I in 1606 and, after the Massacre of 1622, dissolved by him in 1624.⁴⁶⁴

Tapp made some very significant editorial changes in this edition, which have not been noted by previous critics and so are worth detailing here. Whereas in the 1596 edition he added his new material in an appendix, this time he incorporated it into Cortés’s/Eden’s actual text. The changes do not affect the theoretical first part of the work. In Part Two, however, they are primarily found in the beginning. After the first chapter, he added a concluding paragraph (one page) and a new table showing the latitude degrees and the corresponding length of the day. Chapter Two is largely rewritten. There is a new paragraph at the end of Chapter Three, introducing the following chapter, which is a completely new addition. It ‘[s]heweth the Declination of the Sun for euery Moneth and day of the Moneth throughout the yeere’ (1615 ed., Ev)

⁴⁶² Bell, ‘Waad, Sir William’, *ODNB*.

⁴⁶³ Hicks, ‘Waad, Armagil’, *ODNB*.

⁴⁶⁴ Neal, 445-7.

and also incorporated Tapp's table of the declination of the sun. All in all, this is an addition of fourteen pages to Part Two. In the third part, he cancelled two illustrations, replaced another and added a new table. Here, too, he introduced an entirely new chapter and accompanying table (1615 ed., M–M6), and rewrote the twelfth chapter. All these changes resulted in an addition of ten pages to Part Three. This means that, overall, Tapp significantly updated and added to Eden's translation, which was several decades old already at this point in time.

After a fifteen-year gap, in 1630, the last Cortés edition was published. It retains the majority of the editorial changes Tapp introduced in the previous edition. Although the newly added chapter in part two remains, Tapp no longer included his table of the declination of the sun. Also, for reasons unknown, Chapters Eleven and Twelve of the third part are omitted, bringing the total chapters for that part down to just thirteen. This edition also did away with all the previous paratexts and added a new one, a prologue dedicating the book to 'The worthy and Ingenious spirited Gentlemen, the Mariners and aduenturous Seamen and Trauailers, of these Kingdomes, Isles, and Territories, vnder the gouernment of our dread Sovereaign CHARLES, Sole Monarch of Great Brittain' (1630 ed., A2). John Tapp, nearing the end of his life, as he says himself, has 'now reuiued it once againe before I die [...] this being the last' (1630 ed., A2v). His previous patron, William Waad, had long been dead. And who else would be more worthy to dedicate this last effort to than the seamen themselves? Again, Tapp turned to new printers, this time the firm of Bernard Alsop (*fl.* 1616–1653) and Thomas Fawcet (*fl.* 1625–1660). Alsop was one of the twenty master printers later named in the 11 July 1637 decree, which stated, amongst other things, that

the master printers should be reduced to twenty in number; and that if any other should secretly, or openly, pursue the trade of printing, he should be set in the pillory, or whipped through the streets, and suffer such other punishment as the court should inflict upon him.⁴⁶⁵

According to the records of the Stationers' Company, Alsop and Fawcet were 'in all things appertayning to their trade [...] Copartners'.⁴⁶⁶ They jointly published some one hundred and sixty works.⁴⁶⁷ This last Cortés edition shows clearly that even seventy years after its first publication in English, and eighty years after its Spanish original, Tapp and others still believed in the value of this text for future sailors.

Over the span of seven decades, the *Breue compendio* had served as a practical manual for the Spanish and English, attracted the attention of English translators, editors and printers, and been dedicated to no fewer than five different patrons from all walks of life, both in Spain and England. It is time now to turn to those paratexts in some detail.

5. The Paratexts: An analysis

5.1. Dedication to Charles V by Martin Cortés (1551–1556)

The first Spanish edition of 1551 starts with a dedication to the emperor Charles V, 'L'arta de Martin Cortes al inuictissimo monarcha Carlo Cesar Augusto quito deste

⁴⁶⁵ As quoted in Timperley, 490.

⁴⁶⁶ *Records of the Stationers' Company, 1602-1640*, 306.

⁴⁶⁷ See *ESTC*, for the years 1625-1644.

nōbre / Rey d' las Españas. Etc. S. N.' (1551 ed., 2), or, as it appears in Eden's translation, 'The epistle dedicatorie of Martin Cortes, to the moste mightie and victorious Monarch Charles the Emperour, the fyfte of that name, Kyng of Spaine. &c.' (1561 ed., A1). It is of considerable length, going from Folio 2 to Folio 4v in the original, and A1 to A4 in the translation. Eden translates this paratext in full, although he omits the glosses, which are references and explanatory notes placed in both the left and right-hand margins of the original. They do not appear in any of the English editions.

The main theme of Cortés's dedication is a comparison between antiquity and contemporary Spain. The aim, obviously, is to show that Charles has done more for Spain than even the gods did centuries before. His ancient examples are Isis, Ceres, and Saturn. However, Charles is 'more profitable to Spaine [...] a more excellenter lawe giuer in maner to all Europe, and further to the newe world lately discouered' (1561 ed., A4). This, of course, is in comparison with the ancient gods who were limited to just a 'lyttle corner of Italy' (1561 ed., A4), in Saturn's case. Under Charles, Spain is enjoying 'the most happy tyme' filled with 'felicitie' where 'they that walke in the nyght go in safetie' (1561 ed., A4). This is all due to certain measures taken, listed by Cortés in a series of antitheses: to banish vice and honour virtue, to punish offenders and favour innocents so that the quiet live more peaceably and the unquiet are restrained, the good are exalted and the evil chastised. In fact, Spain is doing so well that it 'maye now abundantly minister to her neyghbours that haue neede' (1561 ed., A1v). Cortés now moves from a general appreciation of Spain, to Charles's personal achievements, which lead into the topic at hand, namely navigation.

It is thanks to Charles's politics of 'sayl[ing] to defende & punyshe' that he is 'enlargyng also the name of Spayne in many vnknowen and barbarous landes and nations' (1561 ed., A1v). Therefore, because this results in 'more common and profitable benefites' (1561 ed., A1v–A2) to the people of Spain, he should be praised more than Isis, Ceres or Saturn. Cortés takes Saturn's 'golden worlde and raigne' to a literal level when writing that Spain is:

abundantly enriched in treasure brought frō your Indies, farre surmounting the riches of Salomon brought frō Ophir. Yea & to say the trueth, cōsidering the Nauies of gold & siluer which haue ben ordinarily brought frō thence to your maiestie, this time may rather bee called the goldē age, then that of Saturne[.] (1561 ed., A2)

Under Charles, such places as Peru, the Straits of Magellan and the Rio de la Plata were discovered. However, he did not stop at possession and enjoyment but sent out judges and preachers to govern and instruct and 'bryng those Indians to the knowledge and honouryng of the true God' (1561 ed., A2v). Such discoveries, and the many dangers connected to such voyages, are not new to Spain, writes Cortés, listing a few older examples to show that Spain has always been good at navigation. In fact, it is exactly why he published this work: 'for the furtheraunce of all suche as shall hereafter attempt the lyke Nauigations' (1561 ed., A2v). Although he acknowledges that the art of navigation already existed in antiquity, for example as practised by the Argonauts, he is the first to bring it 'into a briefe compendiousnesse'. Having said that, Cortés is quick to point out that he does not want to be presumptuous. All he has done or written is

‘from aboue by the helpe of the diuine grace’ and, secondly, ‘by the fauoure and prosperous fortune of your maiestie’ (1561 ed., A3).

More praise follows, taking up the theme again that Charles is more worthy than Isis because he has given his people ‘rules and orders to sayle on the seas’, not just for one province, but ‘vniuersall for all prouinces and nations, and for all seas, aswell to go to places discouered, as also to discouer landes and regions yet vnknownen’ (1561 ed., A3). Cortés then explains, again with examples and references to antiquity, how the knowledge of navigation, like all arts, increases from day to day and comes to perfection little by little. It is his belief that it has reached this perfection under Charles’s rule, making the compendium profitable and necessary, for ‘What can be a better or more charitable dede, then to bryng them into the waye that wander? What can be more difficulte then to guyde a shyppe engoulfed, where only water and heauen may be seene’ (1561 ed., A3v). This brings us to the end where Cortés dedicates the work ‘vnto the greatnes of your regall person’ so that Cortés’s ‘poore seruice [...] shal be much more then greate’. Ever careful not to be misunderstood, he finishes by adding a sort of disclaimer:

To conclude, I eftsones make humble petition vnto your Imperiall Maiestie, not so muche to consider what I wryte, as to respecte thintent of my wrytyng: and not the gyfte, but thaffection and good wyll that remayneth in me to serue your Maiestie. (1561 ed., A4)

This dedication constitutes nothing but the highest praise of Spain: its emperor’s reign and achievements both at home and abroad, its skilled and dexterous people, its

prosperity, and, of course, its success in exploration and colonisation. Why would Eden include this in his translation for the English public? Some parts could be rather risky, especially when Cortés is highlighting the fact that the Spaniards are good soldiers. He even included a remark by Francis I, King of France, imprisoned in Madrid after the 1525 Battle of Pavia, who ‘where seying many young men in maner without beardes, and yet laden with armure and weapons, sayde: Oh happye Spayne that bryngest foorth and nouryshest men of warre’ (1561 ed., A2). So why not just delete this paratext in the translation, as Eden did with the other paratext, the prologue to Alvaro de Bazan, as we shall see shortly?

The decision to include the dedication must have been a conscious one, either on Eden’s part or that of the Muscovy Company. After all, by showing that the author dedicated his work to someone as powerful as the Holy Roman Emperor, Eden gave prestige to this text, which helps explain why it deserved to be translated. Furthermore, while there was no denying that Spain was in a considerably better position at the time than England in the beginning of Elizabeth’s reign, there was no reason why the English could not, in time, come to rival or even exceed the Spanish. Indeed, as Charles V is praised for bringing good justice and government to Spain, this might be a subtle hint that this is what Elizabeth should emulate in England. One of the results of Spain’s good governance is successful exploration and the ensuing riches to be discovered. Reading this, Englishmen would be similarly encouraged to explore and colonise. The means of exploration, finally, is navigational expertise and advancement in nautical science has benefits for military (navy), political (exploration/colonisation) and commercial (trade) purposes. This is exactly what is praised in the dedication, albeit for Spain. The knowledge itself though, is, as Cortés already said, ‘universal’. Where

Cortés is praising what has already *been achieved*, Eden's inclusion of this praise can only show the English what *could be achieved*. Rather than saying this in his own words, however, which might be perceived as unpatriotic and perhaps even dangerous, Eden uses Cortés's own words, behind which to shield himself.

5.2. Prologue Addressed to Alvaro de Bazan by Martin Cortés (1551–1556)

This second paratext, entitled 'Prologo de Martin Cortes en dereçado al Illustre señor don Alvaro de Baçan capitan general de la armada d' su Magestad y d' su consejo señor de las villas de santa cruz y el viso etc.' (1551 ed., 6v), is not present in any of the English translations. The text contains more praise of Spain, its naval actions, and the usefulness of navigational knowledge, with occasional glosses in both margins. In short, nothing that was not already present in the dedication to Charles V. It is at first tempting to think that the Alvaro de Bazan mentioned here is the same as the first Marquis of Santa Cruz (1526–1588) and mastermind of the later Spanish Armada.⁴⁶⁸ However, when Cortés wrote this in 1545, he could only have been nineteen years old. It must therefore be his father, Alvaro de Bazan 'El Viejo' (1506–1558), who held the same position of captain general of the Navy and member of the king's Council.⁴⁶⁹ This is confirmed later in the Prologo by the mention of his achievements in capturing the African Orey in 1531, participation in Charles's 1535 campaign to recapture Tunis, and

⁴⁶⁸ In fact, this is what Fernandez de Navarrete does when he writes 'el prólogo en que habla con el marqués de Santa Cruz D. Alvaro de Bazan' (430).

⁴⁶⁹ The brothers Alvaro and Alonso de Bazan, both mariners, were involved in innovating the Spanish naval construction. Alvaro was 'granted the title of captain general in the India navigation for fifteen years, and if he died in the meantime leaving a son of age, the latter might inherit the distinction. [...] the contract was confirmed, and Bazan's patent as captain general issued on August 1, 1550' (Haring, 264-65).

victory over the French in the Battle of Muros in 1543. Cortés's decision to address his work to two such powerful men, and each at such length, must have been noteworthy but also a little suspicious at the time Cortés was publishing since he raises this issue himself in the paratext:

I am well aware that there will be no lack of those who will make gossip and accuse me of wishing to receive double payment for a single work, and who will say that it is unfitting (as the Greek proverb has it, and the Latins also say and the Spaniards are known to subscribe) that from one daughter I should aspire to two sons-in-law.⁴⁷⁰

Cortés's enthusiasm for addressing Alvaro de Bazan seems not to have been shared by Eden. We can only speculate about his reasons for omitting the Prologo. Maybe Eden, or the Muscovy Company, or Jugge, or all three, simply thought one long translated dedication was enough already, given that Eden, too, was to add his own dedication to Garrard and Lodge. Maybe praise of Spain was deemed acceptable in an address to an anointed monarch and emperor, whereas praising a foreign military leader's victories was rather more complicated. Or maybe it was because Alvaro de Bazan, unlike Charles V, was not well-known in England. Both men had died by the time of the English publication, which would not have mattered so much in the case of Charles V's

⁴⁷⁰ 'Biẽse que aura quien murmure delo que hago / accusando me q[ue] de vn trabajo pido doblado premio: y q[ue] suena mal (como dize el adagio grieg / ylo refieren los latinos / y no lo callan los castellanos) q[ue] con vna hija q'ero dos yemos.' (1551 ed., 7v). For the English translation see *Science through the Ages*, 100.

reputation but might have been a deciding factor for omitting the paratext addressed to de Bazan.

Cortés opens his dedication to de Bazan by praising the human invention of ships and the art to govern them. How else, he says, would we have known about migrating birds, diverse animals, unknown trees, precious balms, healthy medicines and other pleasant and necessary things?⁴⁷¹ It is thanks to navigation that we know, not just through written accounts but through experience, about the East Indies, the Vermillion Sea, Ethiopia, the Arctic and Antarctic pole, as well as the tropics of Cancer and Capricorn.⁴⁷² As he suggested in the previous dedication, this is not without danger, especially not in the days when sailors had no pilots, compasses, charts, or experience of winds or ports. However, even these impediments did not detain the Spanish from entering unknown seas. Nevertheless, to avoid accidents and losses ‘due to ignorance and lack of experienced sailors’, Alvaro de Bazan has ordered this compendium for the benefit of all ‘to secure the desired aim: that is to come to port quietly and safely’.⁴⁷³

Although Cortés dedicates this work mainly to Charles V — in the tradition of the ancient writers dedicating their work to emperors and princes, although knowing full well that these princes were not going to have the time to read it, but would understand how interesting they were —, he also ‘puts it into the hand of A. B.’

⁴⁷¹ ‘Quien si no la nauegacion nos io a conocer aues peregrinas / animales diuersos / arboles ignotos / preciosos balsamos / medicinas salutiferas y otra gran diuersidad de cosas tã agradables ala vista q[ua]nto necessarias ola vida’ (1551 ed., 6v).

⁴⁷² ‘el mar bermejo’ referring to the Gulf of California, discovered in 1539 by Francisco de Ulloa.

⁴⁷³ ‘por la ignorãcia y falta de experimētados pilotos’ & ‘para conseguir el fin desseado: que es venir a puerto quieto / y seguro’ (1551 ed., 7).

because he has ‘by sea and by earth served the emperour so much’.⁴⁷⁴ Cortés then lists some of de Bazan’s achievements. Most importantly, de Bazan ‘arrived, fought and defeated the French navy: and it was a naval victory no less to consider in quality [...] than that of Pompey the Great against the pirates’.⁴⁷⁵ After going as far as comparing him with one of Rome’s greatest military men and then, in mythological mode, calling him the Spanish Neptune, Cortés points out his motivation for publishing this work and addressing it to de Bazan:

Although it is like, as they say, selling honey to the beekeeper, because Alvaro de Bazan with the theory of navigation has the experience (which according to Quintilian is in all worth more than the science) I will decline not to say that I have worked more than others, brought that to light of which others were silent, and shown in public that what the others concealed in secret[.]⁴⁷⁶

He assures us furthermore that he is not writing all of this for glory or ‘out of hunger for human praise’ but only for the benefit of all.⁴⁷⁷ As to de Bazan, Cortés implores him to ‘emend and correct that in which [he has] been faulty, thinking that whoever has done all he can, does not do little and that whoever gives all he has, does not give little

⁴⁷⁴ See: ‘La consideracion delo qual mouio a los antiguos dirigir sus pro hemios cōsasar sus obras a los cesares / y a otros grandes principes y señores: aun q[ue] no ignorrauan que no los auian de ver / o q[ue] les fataua tiempo pã los leer: entendiendo quanto interes resultaua’ (1551 ed., 7v). See also: ‘ponerlo en manos de . A. B. [...] por mar y par tierra tanto ha seruido al cesar’ (1551 ed., 7v–8).

⁴⁷⁵ ‘Ilego / peleo / y vencio al armada francesa: y fue vna victoria naual no menos de estimar en qualidad [...] que la del magno Pompeo contra los piratas’ (1551 ed., 8).

⁴⁷⁶ ‘aunque sea como dize vëder miel al colmenero / porque . A. B. cō la theorica delo nauegacion tiene la experiencie (la qual segun quintiliano quasi en todo vale mas que la sciencia) no dexare de dezir que he trabajado mas que otros / sacando aluz lo q[ue] otros callaron: y manifestando en publico / lo que los otros encubrieron en secreto’ (1551 ed., 8v).

⁴⁷⁷ ‘ni hambre d’ loor humano me mouio’ (1551 ed., 8v).

either'.⁴⁷⁸ This is a topos in paratexts: the author covers himself in case of criticism or danger. Cortés thus offers a defence here, under the guise of a compliment.

5.3. Dedication to Garrard and Lodge by Richard Eden (1561–1589)

Featuring prominently in the Cortés translations until 1589 is Richard Eden's lengthy dedication to the Muscovy Company, and in particular its governors William Garrard and Thomas Lodge, which occupies fourteen pages in the 1561 edition (*2–*4v). It starts with an extensive metaphor of the perfect commonwealth resembling a human body with different parts and members all working together as one. This sense of perfect unity is stressed in a variety of terms, most significantly in the following, 'to be so *knytte together*, and so to *consent* in one *vniformitie* to the *common* profyte of the *whole*, that a greater *concorde* and *harmonye* can not be imagined' [italics added] (1561 ed., *2–*2v). All these parts and members share a 'mutuall compassion', which means that the bad ones, those 'wythered or otherwyse vnsensate by reason of dead fleshe,' can 'onely by cuttyng and burning [...] be deuyded from the sounde and whole' or they will disrupt the 'lyuely' members (1561 ed., *2v). Moving on from this covert warning of what will happen to the bad apples of a commonwealth, Eden highlights the important role that elected and appointed members such as 'Princes therefore counsaylours, rulers, gouernours and magistrates' play thanks to their God-given and natural 'preeminence & gouernaunce' (1561 ed., *2v). This favour is best shown in the 'maintenaunce of suche artes and sciences, as the common wealth can not

⁴⁷⁸ 'emiendo y corrija enlo q[ue] he sido d'ffectuoso / juzgando q[ue]no ha he\cho poco q'en haze todo lo q[ue] puede / ni da poco el q[ue] da todo lo que tiene' (1551 ed., 8v).

well be without' (1561 ed., *2v). He is quick to make clear that this is undertaken for the good of their country and the furtherance of knowledge, even at the risk of personal losses. The incentive of such an eminent member's support, however, makes the inventors and experimentors of the arts and sciences strive even harder. As Eden says, 'I haue had great experience, bothe in my selfe and others, why by your ayde and mainteynaunce haue attempted and perfourmed many goodly inuentions, viages, nauigations and discoueries of landes & Seas hertofore vnknownen' (1561 ed., *3).

Eden then expands on the Company's previous voyages and discoveries, ending on the reassuring note that also 'the Spanyardes & Portugales, had theyr begynnyng of such small coniectures, with uncerteyne hope' (1561 ed., *3v). Even if some things did not run as smoothly as planned so far, surely the Company has embarked, and will continue to do so, on other successful and courageous missions, trusting in 'the experte skylfulnesse of so excellent a Pilot [... as] Steuen a Burrough' (1561 ed., *4). Eden deplores the lack of experts in England and echoes Borough's plans of setting up a proper training school modelled on the Casa de Contratación. As to Borough himself, Eden warmly praises his efforts to 'honour and enrych[...] Prynce and countrie' by wanting to share his knowledge 'for the cōmon profite to be cōmen to al mē' (1561 ed., **1). This is the same language Eden adopted in the opening simile regarding the common wealth after which he, as earlier on, moves on to favours bestowed by 'certen worshypfull' (1561 ed., **1). In this instance, it is Eden himself who received 'liberall rewarde' for his services as a translator, the capacity of which he modestly describes as 'poore' (1561 ed., **1). In any case, the desired outcome of this publication 'in our vulgar tongue' is of course to have more skilled pilots and to root out the incompetent

ones since they are, to return to the metaphor, but ‘excrementes of the bodye’ (1561 ed., **1v).

The issue of skilled versus unworthy pilots brings Eden to a discussion of science versus superstition, in particular astronomy versus astrology. The reader should of course stay clear of the latter, which in the words of Sir Thomas Smythe is ‘the moste ingenious arte of lyinge’ (1561 ed., **1v), and turn to the proper astronomical principles as described in Cortés’s work. To support his belief in true astronomy further, Eden goes into a lengthy discussion of ‘the Diuine Philosopher’ (1561 ed., **2). One view expressed by Plato seems to capture Eden’s particular attention, namely the effects caused by the sun. The last part of this paratext is thus a description of such phenomena as day and night, light and darkness on both sides of the equator, the two poles, both tropics, the seasons and finally the way each man is adapted to a specific climate. This example, Eden says, proves how useful and necessary this kind of information is, ‘not onlye for all Pilottes and Sea men [...] but also for all other such as shall attempt great and farre viagies in vnknownen landes and straunge countries’ (1561 ed., **4). His last, extensive, praise goes to Anthony Jenkinson, fellow successful member of the Muscovy Company, who was predominantly renowned for opening trade routes to Russia, mostly through overland travel.⁴⁷⁹ Eden’s dedication ends with the usual expressions of goodwill and affection and the hope that the Company’s ‘shielde of Justice and auctoritie’ may defend him ‘agaynste the assaultes of such as are enemies to vertue, and captious of other mens doinges’ (1561 ed., **4v).

⁴⁷⁹ See also Appleby, ‘Jenkinson, Anthony’, *ODNB*.

In these fourteen pages, Eden thus discusses the commonwealth and the importance of the Muscovy Company in it, as well as the Company's achievements and praise for selected members. He adds the discussion on astronomy versus astrology to confirm the scientific nature of this work and of navigation in general, something that had not yet gone uncontested. It is not entirely clear why he devotes so much space to a discussion of Plato and the effects caused by the sun, unless he means to show off his own knowledge of the subject. The most important thing that we can learn from this dedication, however, is the context in which the translation was undertaken: from Borough's generous offer of sharing the newly obtained knowledge of navigation by providing a copy of the *Breue compendio*, to the translator's payment by the dedicatees, and the practical reason for translating the work, namely to train more skilled pilots.

5.4. Dedication to the Seamen and Mariners by John Tapp (1596–1609)

When John Tapp took it upon himself to prepare another edition of Eden's translation in 1596, he cancelled the existing paratexts and wrote a new one. It was a dedication addressed, not to a specific dedicatee, in the person of a wealthy and powerful agent or administrator, but to 'the industrious Seamen and Mariners of England' who would benefit from this publication. Tapp's paratext is very straightforward. After the initial *captatio benevolentiae* to his 'courteous and friendly readers', he sets out his motivation: 'there is no booke extant in the English tounge that in so briefe and easie a method, doth discover so many and rare secrets' (1596 ed., A3). However, because 'it hath beene so often Imprinted', faults and errors have arisen which have a threefold

effect: they are a ‘disgrace vnto the Arte’, a ‘discredit vnto the Author’, and a ‘double damage vnto those which should put it in practise’ (1596 ed., A3–A3v). Therefore, Tapp claims, he has corrected the work and added the necessary tables. He has done so ‘for the profit’ of the readers, who will find it ‘profitable for [their] practice’ and will ‘receiue profit’ (1596 ed., A3v). Finally, it will praise the author and bring personal satisfaction to Tapp himself.

5.5. Dedication to William Waad by John Tapp (1615)

When Tapp published the 1615 edition of the *Art of nauigation*, he was no longer a young man. It is not therefore surprising that his writing style changed. This dedication is less straightforward and more rhetorical. The opening passage discusses the effect of ‘Time, the common cōsumer of Antiquity’ on an author’s work, possibly bringing it in ‘the embers of obliuiousnesse’ or under ‘the vaile of obscuritie’ in this ‘cankered decaying age’ (1615 ed., A2). An author’s work is described in recurring terms of ‘painfull labours’, but also sometimes ‘memorable [...] industrious [...] endeouours’ (1615 ed., A2v and A3v). In the case of navigation, Tapp says, there ‘cannot be too much written’ and we should be grateful for all the works we have. This is why he has now ‘entere[ed] into a reuiew of my first Tutor into my marine practices’ (1615 ed., A2v), to show his gratitude and keep it alive and up to date for future students.

After stating his motivation for updating the work, Tapp does not hesitate to dedicate it to someone as powerful as Sir William Waad, seeing that ‘the Authour himselfe dared to craue the protection of an Emperour, and the Translator, of a worshipfull Societie’ (1615 ed., A3). He is sure that Waad will welcome it given his

interest in exploratory voyages and in particular the efforts of the Virginia Company. After all, on a note that strongly echoes Eden's prefaces, 'he that is so well addicted to the common good of the Republike, will not denie the protection of that thing, which may any way tend to the profit of the Common-weale in generall' (1615 ed., A3). His hope is that both Cortés's 'painfull endeouours' and his own updates will last in 'after-times [...] after-ages [...] memorie [...] ensuing posteritie, and [...] in endlesse felicity' (1615 ed., A3v).

5.6. Dedication to the Mariners and Seamen by John Tapp (1630)

In 1630, Tapp re-edited the work and, since Waad had died in 1623, gave it a new dedication, returning to his mariners and seamen of the 1596 edition. Despite the similar mode of address used for the dedicatees, 'mariners and seamen', this is an altogether different paratext. Its full title reads as follows:

The worthy and Ingenious spirited Gentlemen, the Mariners and aduenturous Seamen and Trauailers, of these Kingdomes, Isles, and Territories, vnder the gouernment of our dread Sovereaigne Charles, Sole Monarch of Great Brittain, Iohn Tap, their old Well-willer, wisheth prosperity in their Aduentures, content in their Labours, and the true fruition of all their honest Designes. (1630 ed., A2)

Continuing on from these 'honest Designes', Tapp is making sure to stress that his intended readers are 'honest Patrons', that his own efforts are 'honest labours' and that

Cortés was an ‘honest Author’ (1630 ed., A2–A2v). The text itself covers the same ground as Tapp’s 1615 dedication, starting by praising Cortés as his first tutor and hoping the work will remain profitable for current and future students thanks to frequent reprints. As it has almost been forgotten, Tapp is updating it yet again. He reflects on his first attempt, describing how he ‘in *Anno* 1596 [...] being but a yong Seaman [...] tooke vpon me the reuiue thereof, and new printed it’ (1630 ed., A2v). The tone of melancholy perceptible in the 1615 dedication, with its reference to the ‘cankered decaying age’ (1615 ed., A2) in which the translation is being edited, marks this dedication too, but is more personal. Now fifty-five years old, Tapp knows he will not be able to continue in the same manner. In his disclaimers, he says rather mournfully: ‘now this being the last [time], and in the decaying time of my yeares, [I] cannot promise that certainty of perfection, which formerly I might haue done’ (1630 ed., A2v). Accordingly, he adds a list of corrigenda after his paratext, asking readers ‘to mend [them] with a pen, before they make vse thereof’ (1630 ed., A3).

5.7. Results

To conclude our study of the paratexts, we might maintain that Cortés’s *Breue compendio* offers an excellent example of the roles that paratexts can play in subsequent editions and of what we can or cannot learn from them. The Spanish originals contained the same two paratexts, dedicating the work to a rather distant emperor on the one hand, and, more directly, to a military leader, on the other. In the first English translation, as we saw, a conscious choice was made to retain only one. What were the criteria that influenced this choice? How important were the dedicatee,

the purpose of the dedication, and the relevance to the new audience? We have provided some answers to these questions on pages 209–211.

Where the English paratexts are concerned, we hear two different voices: that of the appointed translator and that of the voluntary editor. The first is an educated man in an important position within an influential merchant company, being asked and paid to translate this work. The second is an enthusiastic amateur, in awe of the author and translator and keen to add his own small contribution by updating their material in the hope that it may benefit other and future readers. In the latter case, we also hear this voice progressing from that of a young boy to that of an old man. These two agents, translator and editor, also mark an evolution in terms of the intended readers, passing from members of a specific company to a wider audience, although also involved in seafaring and exploration.

As revealing as these paratexts may be in certain areas, they also leave a number of questions unanswered. For example, unlike many translators' prefaces and dedications, they contain no comments on the act of translating itself, nor do the translator and editor indicate what choices they made, or what problems they encountered. Similarly, we receive little information, especially for the 1572–1589 editions, as to why a new edition was produced.

6. Conclusion

That Cortés's *Breue compendio de la sphaera* is of historic importance, not just within Spain, is confirmed by the fact that 'it served as a model for future European

treatises'.⁴⁸⁰ This took place predominantly in England, which is very evident from the large number of editions and the fact that it was still being printed, in translation, even eighty years after its initial publication in Spain. Critics tend to agree that the effect of this 'influential Englishing' was far-reaching.⁴⁸¹ As Waters says, this 'first navigation manual printed in English' marks the start of a new era in English navigation.⁴⁸² Be it for scientific, commercial or political reasons, Atkinson points to the 'avidity with which [...] England's sea dogs devoured the Spanish treatises on navigation of the age' and how Cortés's work 'became the *vade mecum* of every apprentice filibuster'.⁴⁸³ A similar turn of phrase is picked up by Waters, who boldly states that this 'was the work which navigated the English seamen to their meteoric rise to fame as, to use the words of a Venetian ambassador at the time of the Armada, "great sea dogs"'.⁴⁸⁴ True as this may be, things did not progress as straightforwardly as suggested. Advancement of English knowledge and navigational expertise evidently needed more than this translation alone. Cortés's manual in Spain was part of a specific training process for pilots in the Casa de Contratación. In England, however, it was but a book and it lacked the institutional context in which it was created. It is precisely to fill this gap that Stephen Borough petitioned the Crown with his ambitious plans for setting up a similar training school. Indeed, as Ash rightfully states,

[w]ith Cortés's book in hand, an aspiring (and confidently literate) English pilot would have been able to name, and perhaps even to build, several navigational

⁴⁸⁰ 'modelo a futuros tratados europeos' (Escartí, 87).

⁴⁸¹ Kuin, 558.

⁴⁸² Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, 3.

⁴⁸³ Atkinson, 250-51.

⁴⁸⁴ Waters, 'Science and the Techniques', 218.

instruments – and yet still be utterly unable to use them successfully. Cortés’s manual, taken by itself, was insufficient for training mathematical navigators.⁴⁸⁵

Nevertheless, Eden’s translation of Cortés was, as Waters claims, ‘one of the most decisive books ever printed in the English language.’⁴⁸⁶ And in this context, it is obvious why Carter and Muir included Cortés’s work in their seminal bibliography, *Printing and the Mind of Man: A Descriptive Catalogue Illustrating the Impact of Print on the Evolution of Western Civilization During Five Centuries*.⁴⁸⁷

Even though Borough failed to realise his plans for a teaching institution, England rectified the lack of ‘context’ in a different way. They turned to translating a host of other works to piece together whatever bits of knowledge they required. In the next chapter of this thesis, I discuss all those agents involved in the production of translations of navigational manuals and similar texts, not just from Spanish but from a variety of languages, as these are the men engaged in the country’s development of navigation. By tracing the links between the people involved — be they connected to the book trade, the merchant companies, the universities, the court or the aristocracy — through the physical books and specifically their paratexts, it is possible to reconstruct the social networks that surrounded these navigational texts. These will provide a better insight into the question of English navigation in the period, as well as shed new light on aspects of the English book trade and on the manner in which translations were commissioned and executed in early modern England.

⁴⁸⁵ Ash, 118-19.

⁴⁸⁶ Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, 104.

⁴⁸⁷ *Printing and the Mind of Man*, 76.

CHAPTER 5

SOCIAL NETWORKS

In the preceding four chapters we have analysed the context, corpus, and paratexts, as well as conducted a detailed case study of one work, Richard Eden's translation of Martin Cortés's *Breue compendio*. This was crucial in order to understand the important influence that translation had on the knowledge and spread of navigation in England. It is now time to bring the whole to a close and show what links these works together. However, it is also a complex matter to identify and discuss the connections between them since we are dealing with a period that spans a hundred and twelve years, contains forty texts in the form of eighty-four books, written by forty different authors, handled by twenty-six translators, dedicated to twenty-nine influential people and produced and sold by seventy stationers.⁴⁸⁸ Some of these have been discussed in previous chapters already and need not be revisited in this one, whereas others definitely deserve further attention.

If we consider these people as separate groups, the least important in this story are the authors. This might sound paradoxical since, without them, the texts would not have been written and there would not be anything for us to discuss. However, the networks that we are trying to establish are very much focused on England and on the genesis of the translated work rather than the source text and its country of origin. In this context, the authors play only a marginal role in comparison to all those involved in translating, producing, selling and financing the works in our corpus. The translators

⁴⁸⁸ In this chapter, too, I have left out the works of Blaeu and Colom since, as discussed earlier, they were not printed in England.

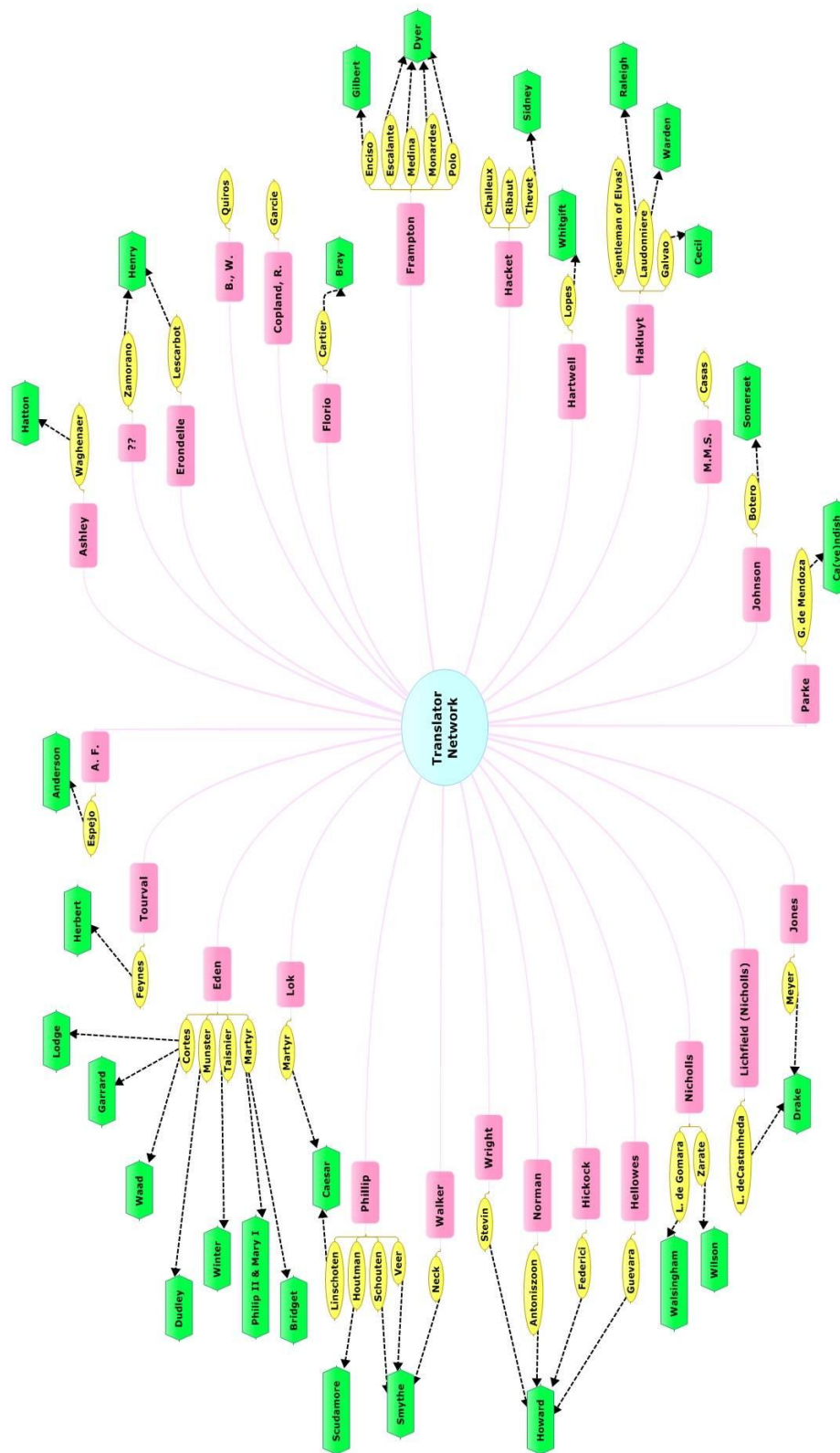
have all been mentioned already and discussed to some extent in Chapter Two but since they are crucial to this corpus they will, as we shall see, feature at the heart of most networks. There is definitely more to say about the dedicatees. Although Chapter Three highlighted some, namely the dedicatees found in the paratexts originally accompanying source texts, I gave the dedicatees of the translations themselves rather short shrift; this will be rectified in this chapter. Last but definitely not least are the many stationers involved, who have been mentioned but not discussed in the second chapter. They, too, will receive the attention they deserve on account of their participation in the many networks that will be analysed in the following pages.

For the sake of clarity and the ability to easily draw connections, I have taken recourse to visual representations of the networks. In the following sections, I will refer to three diagrams or maps I created: the connections between translators and dedicatees (fig. 15); the relationships between printers and booksellers (fig. 18); and, finally, the whole network, encompassing authors, translators, dedicatees, printers and booksellers (fig. 17). How and why these maps were created will be discussed in greater detail at the start of the second section (see p. 232ff).

1. Translators & Dedicatees

The first network establishes the connection between the translators and the dedicatees. The inner circle of this diagram (fig 15) lists all the translators in the present corpus, including the one that remains anonymous. This gives us a total of twenty-six translators. The middle circle consists of the forty authors, although in this diagram they are used as shorthand for their works (since titles would be visually bulky

Fig. 15: Translator Network



and make the diagram confusing) rather than as actual people. Finally, the outer circle contains the dedicatees, all twenty-nine of them.

As the diagram demonstrates, there are five different types of connections, which I shall treat in ascending order of complexity. First are those cases where there is in fact no connection because there is no dedicatee. This occurs six times, an example of which is W. B.'s translation of Quiros's *Relacion de un memorial [...] sobre la poblacion y descubrimiento de la quarta parte del mundo, Australia incognita*. Then we find one-to-one connections where one translator is linked to just one dedicatee, who in turn is linked only to that translator; this is the case for Anthony Ashley and his illustrious patron, the courtier Christopher Hatton, as well as seven other instances.⁴⁸⁹ A third type of connection is one-to-many. In these scenarios one translator is linked to multiple dedicatees but they are linked to only that one translator. There are three examples of such a connection in this corpus: firstly, John Frampton offers dedications to both Humfrey Gilbert and Edward Dyer but Gilbert and Dyer are linked only to Frampton; secondly, Richard Hakluyt addresses his work to Walter Raleigh, L. Warden and Robert Cecil but those three are linked only to one translator of navigational treatises, namely Hakluyt; thirdly, Thomas Nicholls offers dedications to both Francis Walsingham and Thomas Wilson, but they are only linked to Nicholls. The reverse of this is a many-to-one connection where several translators are linked to just the one dedicatee, whilst that dedicatee is the only one to be associated with those translators. Again, we find only three cases of this nature in our corpus: Henry Prince of Wales receives dedications from both Pierre Erondelle and the anonymous translator of

⁴⁸⁹ Florio – Bray; Hacket – Sidney; Hartwell – Whitgift; Johnson – Somerset; Parke – Ca(ve)ndish; Tourval – Herbert; and, finally, 'A. F.' – Anderson.

Zamorano's work, but in turn these two translators are only connected with Henry.⁴⁹⁰ Similarly, Charles Howard is chosen as a dedicatee by four different translators, Edward Wright, Robert Norman, Thomas Hickock and Edward Hellowes, but each of these four is connected only with one dedicatee, namely Howard. Finally, Francis Drake received dedications from both Nicholas Lichfield and Philip Jones, but these translators are only connected with Drake.

Finally, the last type of connection is many-to-many, or those cases where multiple translators are linked to multiple dedicatees and who themselves are linked to multiple translators. Such a connection occurs three times and it is exactly at this point that the network becomes complex, yet interesting. The first occurrence is found in the case of translators William Phillip and William Walker. Phillip is linked to multiple dedicatees but 'shares' Thomas Smythe, the first governor of the East India Company, with Walker. Furthermore, he 'shares' the dedicatee Julius Caesar, judge of the High Court of Admiralty, with translator Michael Lok, making this the second and most complete occurrence of a many-to-many connection since Phillip is linked to multiple dedicatees and Eden is linked to multiple dedicatees, while at the same time Caesar is linked to multiple translators.

A variety of insights can be gleaned from looking at the network from the point of view of the numbers and nature of these connections. If one were simply to compare the number of dedications received, joint first place would be awarded to Edward Dyer and Charles Howard with four each, closely followed by Thomas Smythe with three.

⁴⁹⁰ It is not in fact the anonymous translator who wrote the dedication in this case but the editor, Edward Wright. However, for clarity's sake I have left editors out of this diagram.

However, in light of these multiple connections, Dyer is revealed to be nowhere near as important as the other two. Yes, he received four dedications; however, they are all from the same translator, namely John Frampton. Even though Dyer is important to Frampton, it is now obvious that their relationship is defined simply by Dyer's patronage of him, something that is emphasised by the fact that Frampton dedicated four out of five translations to him, being dependent to a large extent on his patron's favour.

The case is entirely different for Charles Howard. He, too, received four dedications yet from four different translators, which gave him a much wider circle of influence as far as this corpus is concerned. The earliest dedication was in 1578 by Edward Hellowes, followed in 1584 by Robert Norman (which was reprinted in consecutive editions until 1612), in 1588 by Thomas Hickock and in the last instance by Edward Wright in 1599. Howard's relationship to these translators here is not as straightforward as that of a regular patron. He was chosen specifically because of the importance of his position at the exact time when his career and standing were rising rapidly. He had been appointed joint commander of the English fleet, alongside William Winter, in 1570, was knighted soon after, admitted to the Order of the Garter in 1575 and the first translation of our corpus to be dedicated to him, *A booke of the inuention of the Art of Nauigation*, appeared in 1578; in 1584 he became a privy councillor and finally rose to lord Admiral of England in 1585 and the second translation, *The Safegard of Sailers, or Great Rutter*, appeared in 1584; he played a crucial role in the fight against the Spanish Armada in 1588, in which year the third translation, *The Voyage and Trauaile: of M. Cæsar Frederick*, was published; and finally there was his involvement in the 1596 attack on Cádiz, for which efforts he was

rewarded with the title of earl of Nottingham a year later and the last translation, *The Haven-finding art*, was dedicated to him in 1599.⁴⁹¹

A similarly influential figure was the renowned merchant Thomas Smythe, who received three dedications from two different translators: William Walker in 1601 and William Phillip in both 1609 and 1619. After several reports of successful voyages to the Spice Islands, the East India Company was founded at the end of 1600 and the merchants elected Thomas Smythe as their first governor. It is not surprising, then, that Walker dedicated his translation of an account of one such voyage, that made by Jacob Cornelisz van Neck and Wybrant van Warwijck, to Smythe. After a brief imprisonment in the aftermath of the Essex Rebellion, and following James I's accession to the throne in 1603, Smythe's career flourished.⁴⁹² He continued to be a governor of the East India Company for most of his time between 1603 and 1621, which earned him another dedication, this time by Phillip in his translation of a work by Willem Cornelisz Schouten. As well as holding this important position, he was involved in a whole series of other merchant companies such as the North-West Passage Company, the Virginia Company, the French Company, the Spanish Company, the Levant Company and the Muscovy Company, of which his grandfather, Sir Andrew Judde, had been a founding member.⁴⁹³ Because of his interest in trade with Russia and the search for a Northeast Passage, Smythe was also chosen as dedicatee for Phillip's translation of Gerrit de Veer's *Waerachtighe beschryvinghe van drie seylagien*. Finally, he is also remembered

⁴⁹¹ McDermott, 'Howard, Charles', *ODNB*.

⁴⁹² Morgan, 'Smythe, Sir Thomas', *ODNB*.

⁴⁹³ Morgan, 'Smythe, Sir Thomas', *ODNB*; Slack, 'Judde, Sir Andrew', *ODNB*.

for having a passage between Greenland and Canada named after him by Arctic explorer William Baffin in 1616 which is now known as Smith Sound.⁴⁹⁴

There are three more people in this network that deserve some attention, namely those who received two dedications: Francis Drake, Henry Prince of Wales and Julius Caesar. The first dedication that Drake received was that by Nicholas Lichefield in 1582. Drake had made a name for himself by his infamous three-year long voyage looting ships across the Spanish possessions and bringing home great treasure for himself and his investors, for which the Queen knighted him in 1581.⁴⁹⁵ Lichefield dedicated *The first Booke of the historie of the Discouerie and conquest of the East Indias, enterprised by the Portingales* to Drake because he thought its practical information of routes and harbours might prove useful to him. After another raid on the Spanish territories — this time largely unsuccessful — and a lucrative attack on Cádiz, Drake played a crucial role alongside Charles Howard in fighting off the Spanish Armada. These actions earned him a dedication by Philip Jones in 1589, who called him ‘the ornament of his Country, the terror of the enimie, the Achilles of this age’ (A2v) and wrote ‘The matter [Meyer’s *Methodus describendi*] is respectue to trauell, and who in that course this day liuing is your superior?’ (A3).

Royal favour was sought by Pierre Erondelle when he dedicated *Nova Francia* to Henry Frederick Prince of Wales in 1609. Knowing the young prince’s interest in naval matters and voyages of exploration, and particularly in the question of English activity in Virginia, Erondelle did not have to look far to find a suitable dedicatee for his translation of Marc Lescarbot’s *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, or rather, his

⁴⁹⁴Penrose, 179.

⁴⁹⁵Kelsey, Harry, ‘Drake, Sir Francis’, *ODNB*.

translation of those passages pertaining to Virginia as selected by Hakluyt. The following year saw another dedication to Henry, now formally appointed Prince of Wales, made this time by Edward Wright in the second edition of his *Certaine errors in navigation*. As pointed out in Chapter Two, this work included an anonymous translation of royal cosmographer Rodrigo Zamorano's navigation manual *Compendio de la arte de navegar*. Being the prince's mathematics tutor, Wright knew of Henry's interest in navigation and it makes perfect sense that he dedicated this work to his patron.

The last dedicatee that I shall focus on here is Julius Caesar, son of the Venetian doctor Cesare Adelmare who attended upon both Mary I and Elizabeth I.⁴⁹⁶ He acquired various academic degrees and enjoyed a prospering legal career, which led to him being appointed sole judge of the High Court of Admiralty in 1587. It is with this position in mind that the printer John Wolfe (not the translator this time!) dedicated Phillip's 1598 translation *Iohn Hvighen van Linschoten. his Discours of Voyages into ye Easte & West Indies* to Caesar so that its contents could 'bee examined by such as are in place and Authority appointed for such purposes' (Av). Caesar was interested in matters of navigation and trade in the course of his professional life, for example when he sat on committees regarding such topics as the organisation of merchants and seamen in 1579 and maritime insurance in 1601.⁴⁹⁷ In his personal life, he had lost his brother William, a merchant in the Mediterranean, after a shipwreck in 1591; however, this did not stop him from financially backing voyages of Cavendish and Frobisher and being a member of both the Northwest Passage Company and the French Company.

⁴⁹⁶ Wijffels, 'Adelmare, Cesare', *ODNB*.

⁴⁹⁷ Wijffels, 'Caesar, Sir Julius', *ODNB*.

Furthermore, Caesar's mother's second husband was Michael Lok, a London merchant from a long line of Mercers who had a keen passion for exploration, which unfortunately left him in debt for most of his life.⁴⁹⁸ In 1612, Lok expanded Eden's translation *De nouo orbe, or the historie of the west Indies* and dedicated this edition to his stepson Caesar, a dedication which seemed fitting given their personal connection and shared interests.

John Wolfe is the only printer in this corpus to write a dedication. All of the other dedications found here, as we have seen, were written by the translator or, in a rare case, an editor. There may very well have been other connections at work in this instance, such as Hakluyt pulling some strings behind the scenes in suggesting or requesting a particular dedicatee, but in actual fact, the translators are the ones to connect with the dedicatees. My attempt to find a network of connections between dedicatees and stationers — with the exception of John Wolfe — or even dedicatees and authors has yielded no results of relevance to this corpus of navigational translations.

2. Printers & Booksellers

The aim of the second diagram (fig. 17, see p. 235) is to present the entire corpus in such a way that we can grasp its essential significance in one glance, so to speak. Before we discuss the relationships between the printers and booksellers found in our network in detail, this visual approach requires some justification, as I found this could not be done to any degree of satisfaction using more conventional approaches, such as

⁴⁹⁸ McDermott, 'Lok, Michael', *ODNB*.

bibliographical lists or spreadsheets. While the former serves a certain purpose and presents the advantage of containing the exact details of a work, the number of ways it can be ordered are limited, either alphabetically by authors' names or by titles, or chronologically. These are the two most common methods. To highlight other parameters such as translators, original authors or dedicatees, different subsections or additional lists would be required, to the detriment of the complete picture. Spreadsheets are very useful because one can tweak and manipulate them to bring out, or play down, certain characteristics and parameters by sorting the data through specific filters. Unfortunately, in order to make this work successfully, you lose several of the details by having to input the data in such a way that they are 'machine-sortable'. The biggest drawback, however, is that this sorting and filtering can only be done live and not on the printed page. I therefore searched for an altogether different way to present the materials.

The approach on which I ultimately decided is a type of mind map. This is essentially a visual representation or diagram whose main difference with the previously mentioned bibliographical list and spreadsheet is that it works in non-linear arrangement. Instead, information is organised in a radial way around a central idea, which allows for greater flexibility and is thereby less restrictive than more traditional methods. Its disadvantage as far as the present corpus is concerned, is that most of the bibliographical detailing needs to be sacrificed as well as any alphabetical and chronological ordering. This is not a huge issue, however, as these features in which a bibliographical list excels are found in the list that I provide at the end of the thesis (pp. 284–304). In point of fact, this omission of detail allows for the diagram's necessary clarity and enables it to provide an overview.

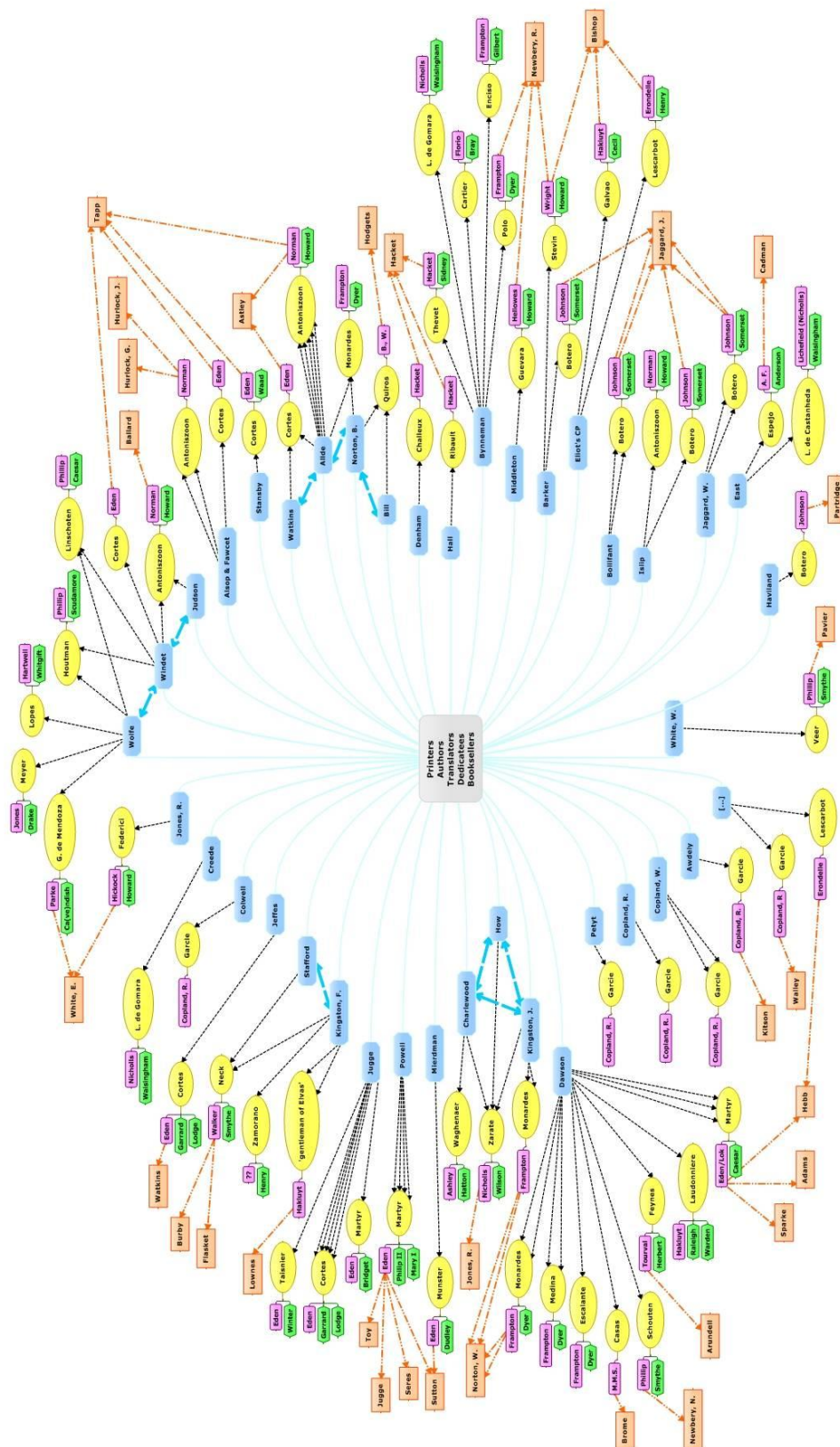
Because of the inherent structure of a mind map, which combines words with the visual, the corpus can be condensed, making it much easier to grasp and understand. For this reason, the mind map becomes a valuable analytical tool for our purposes, although, as a concept, it is borrowed from other disciplines such as psychology. Furthermore, structure and groupings as well as relationships and connections can be explored easily through the use of various colours and types of visual representations. In this case, I have opted to reinforce the structure in a double way, where I have teamed up colours with graphics as explained in the table below (fig. 16). Before turning to a detailed examination of the connections between printers, booksellers, dedicatees and translators and the various networks they formed, I shall explain the diagrams pertaining to them in some detail.

PARAMETER / RELATIONSHIP	COLOUR	GRAPHIC
Author	Yellow	Elliptic circle
Bookseller	Orange	Rectangle
Dedicatee	Green	Hexagonal
Printer	Blue	Octagonal
Translator	Purple	Rounded rectangle
Printer-Printer	Blue	Double-sided arrow
Translator-Bookseller	Orange	Dash-dot-dot arrow

Fig. 16: Legend for the mind maps (fig. 15, 17, 18)

This is a complex mind map for a few reasons, starting with the amount of data (fig. 17). Not only does it contain one hundred and sixty unique names but these are organised according to five different parameters: author (which here represents the author's work, as before), bookseller, dedicatee, printer and translator. Some of these people operate in several different parameters, such as a printer who is also a seller

Fig. 17: Complete Network: Authors – Translators – Dedicatees – Printers – Booksellers



(e.g. Richard Jugge), or a seller who is also a translator (e.g. Thomas Hacket). They can be identified in their various roles thanks to the distinguishing colours and graphics. The most important issue, however, is that, unlike standard mind maps, this one has no central idea. It would be tempting, for example, to put a translator in the middle and then branch out into the various authors, printers, sellers and dedicatees with whom he worked, but this is very limited. Therefore, in this diagram, it is the corpus as a whole that has become the central idea.⁴⁹⁹

Though a mind map has no traditional hierarchy (e.g., left-right or top-bottom), it consists of circles radiating out from the central idea. Whichever parameter one places in the innermost circle, defines the concept of the entire map. Perhaps the most logical approach would have been to put the authors here as they form the core of the corpus. However, this would be nearly identical to an alphabetical bibliographical list, which is sorted by author. I decided instead to devote the inner circle to the next largest parameter, namely the printers, and build the map up along the following principles.

1. Printers are connected to the work they printed, here represented by the authors' names. The number of arrows going from the printer to the work represents the number of editions and issues, e.g. the two arrows from William Copland to Garcie represent two editions of Garcie's *The rutter of ye see* printed by Copland.

⁴⁹⁹ Since mind maps, to the extent of my knowledge, have not been used for this type of research before, I acknowledge that the way I adapted them here is open for discussion. As explained, mind maps are built up around a central idea and using "the corpus as a whole" as the central node is debatable. However, the software used to generate these maps does not allow for the creation of mind maps without a central node as it is the core of this concept. Likewise, there are multiple ways of building up the hierarchy depending on what parameter you put closer to or further away from the central node. The choice I made here was deliberate, to focus on the printers. I recognize this might at first sight be confusing to some readers as a more traditional way would have been to put the authors here, yet I trust that the accompanying explanation in the text will solve any problems in this regard.

2. Where there was an occasional partnership or cooperation between printers, this is indicated by double-sided arrows, as in, for example, the cooperation between Felix Kingston and Simon Stafford.
3. The work, in turn, has a translator and zero/one/two dedicatee(s), as shown in the English translation of Bartolomé de Las Casas's *Breuissima relacion* where the translator is 'M. M. S.' but there is no dedicatee; the English version of Linschoten's *Itinerario* translated by William Phillip with judge Julius Caesar as a single dedicatee; and, finally, the first six editions of Richard Eden's translation of Martin Cortés *Breue compendio*, which were dedicated to both the Muscovy Company governors William Garrard and Thomas Lodge. For the sake of the strong connection between translator and dedicatee (i.e., in nearly all cases it was the translator who wrote the dedication), as well as for visual clarity, they were put on the same level, although in different coloured boxes, where translators are in purple rounded rectangles and dedicatees in green hexagonal boxes. The outermost circle, finally, contains the booksellers. It would have made most sense to connect these to the works they sold, but this would mean skipping over the circles of translators and dedicatees. For visual purposes, I have therefore linked them instead to the translator (since there is not always a dedicatee present), hence the consistent pairing of purple rounded rectangles (translators) with orange rectangular boxes (booksellers).
4. As a result of these interlinked circles, the map should really be read branch by branch, where one branch grows as follows: a printer prints a work that is then sold by a bookseller, actions represented by arrows; necessary distinguishing details of this work, translator and dedicatee, can be found on the circle or level

that is hooked up directly to the work. I have organised the branches in such a way that there is the least amount of overlap between arrows, keeping it as visually clear as possible.

One element that is not represented in this mind map is the original language of the source text. I felt that this would overly complicate an already very complex diagram and could be addressed in a different way, by making a separate diagram for example. However, since original language was used as a structural element throughout my second chapter in order to group the various translations in my corpus and, more importantly, since this mind map was created with the intention of highlighting networks between people in relation to the items in the corpus, the original language constitutes a less important parameter.

The final diagram (fig. 18), presents the network between printers and booksellers as found in our corpus. This is in essence an ‘outtake’ of the total network as found in the previous mind map (fig. 17) and follows the same coloured codes yet omits the authors, translators and dedicatees. The inner circle shows all of the thirty-eight printers in blue octagonal boxes, as before. I decided to amalgamate Bernard Alsop and Thomas Fawcet for the purposes of this diagram since they were working as established partners for the books that they are associated with here, as well as many others outside the corpus. Presenting them as one unit helps keep the diagram as visually clear as possible. The outer circle is made up of the thirty-two booksellers, shown, as before, in orange rectangles. Black arrows signify a connection between a printer and a bookseller. The thick blue double-sided arrows represent a link between two publishers, in this case where they teamed up for a specific publication.

Some stationers cannot easily be pigeonholed because they operated in multiple roles that we now distinguish as separate professions. However, for the sake of this diagram, I have followed the labels given to them by the *STC*'s extremely useful 'Printers and Publishers' index.⁵⁰⁰ If they are listed as both printer and bookseller, I looked at what position they occupied in this corpus and put them in the relevant category. An example of this is William Stansby, who was active in both trades but is present in this corpus as a printer only. A different case is Richard Jones, who is associated as the printer of one work in this corpus but as the bookseller for another; he can therefore be found in both categories. I should first like to take a closer look at the printers. While six are not associated with a bookseller in this corpus, thirty-two, or 84%, do have this kind of connection.

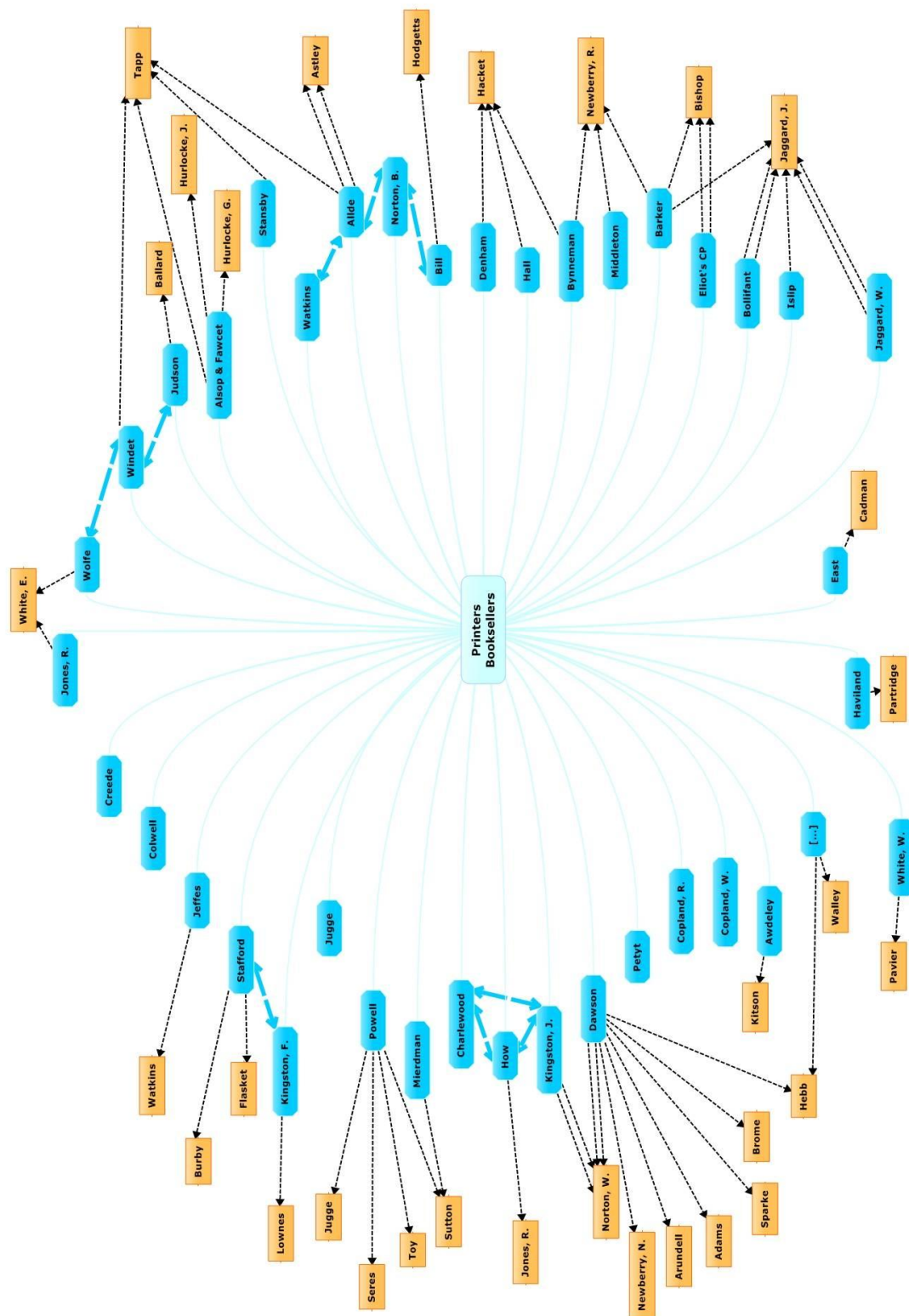
2.1. The printer with the most connections: Thomas Dawson

It is quickly apparent from looking at figure 18 that by far the best connected person in terms of printer-bookseller relations is Thomas Dawson with no fewer than seven connections (see the bottom left quarter of the diagram). In our corpus of navigational treatises, we find twelve publications by him between 1579 and 1628 — the last two of which were reissues of previous editions — sold by a variety of booksellers.⁵⁰¹ There are four works by him which are not associated with a bookseller and they are all pre-

⁵⁰⁰ *STC*, Vol. 3, Index 1, 1–196.

⁵⁰¹ 1579, 1580 (x2), 1581, 1583, 1587, 1595, 1612, 1615, 1619, 1625? and 1628.

Fig. 18: Printers – Booksellers Network



1600. The other three sixteenth-century items are linked to two booksellers, William Norton and William Brome, but neither had a regular address.⁵⁰² This changed for Dawson's seventeenth-century publications, which were sold by booksellers with a specific address, most of them in the north section of Paul's Churchyard, to the north of St. Paul's Cathedral. As we shall see later, this was the prime location for sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century booksellers.

Thomas Dawson was active as a printer in London from 1576 or 1577 until his death in 1620 and was mostly occupied with religious commentaries and catechisms, school texts and broadside almanacks.⁵⁰³ He was well-connected thanks to having been apprenticed to Richard Jugge, the Queen's printer under Elizabeth from 1558 until 1577, rose rapidly through the ranks of the guild and acquired several licenses along the way.⁵⁰⁴ In 1583, just fifteen years after having been made a freeman, Dawson was already a master printer and owned three presses, which was no mean feat.⁵⁰⁵ He went on to occupy various offices in the Stationers' Company, including that of Master twice.⁵⁰⁶ His name is linked to some 300 books according to the *ESTC* yet, despite Thomas R. Adams's brief discussion of him in his article 'The Beginnings of Maritime Publishing in England, 1528-1640', he has received little scholarly attention despite his impressive status at the time.⁵⁰⁷

In our corpus Dawson is associated with works by eight authors, translated by six translators out of four different languages. He was responsible for the last three editions (two of which were re-issues after his death) of Richard Eden's translation of

⁵⁰² *STC*, Vol 3, 127 and 29 respectively.

⁵⁰³ *STC*, Vol. 3, Index 1, 51; Rush, 199.

⁵⁰⁴ Rush, 199–200. Jugge shared the title with John Cawood for all but the first year.

⁵⁰⁵ Rush, 199–200.

⁵⁰⁶ Timperley, 640; Rush, 200.

⁵⁰⁷ Adams, Thomas R., 215–216.

Peter Martyr's *De orbe novo*. We also find him printing William Phillip's *The relation of a wonderfull voiage made by VWilliam Cornelison Schouten of Horne*, René de Laudonnière's *Histoire notable de la Floride* translated by Richard Hakluyt and Jean Loiseau de Tourval's translation of Henri de Feynes's *Voyage faict par terre*. The remaining four works were translated out of Spanish.

The first is the as yet unidentified M.M.S.'s translation of Bartolomé de Las Casas's *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*. Where it becomes interesting, however, is his link to the translator John Frampton, for whom he printed three texts. All three were produced at the start of Dawson's career: Bernardino de Escalante's *Discurso de la navegacion que los portugueses hazen à los reinos y provincias del Oriente* in 1579, two issues of de Nicolas Monardes's *Historia medicinal de las cosas que se traen de nuestras Indias Occidentales que sirven en medicina* both in 1580 and finally two editions of Pedro Medina's *Arte de navegar* in 1581 and 1595. Though Frampton made other translations that are associated with different printers, these pre-date his connection with Dawson (with the exception of a later edition of his Monardes edition printed by Edward Allde in 1596). The exact extent of their relationship is unknown, but it is nevertheless noteworthy that these three texts on a similar topic appeared in the space of three years (1579–1581, not counting later editions) and are linked by the same translator, John Frampton, the same printer, Thomas Dawson, and the same dedicatee, Sir Edward Dyer.

2.2. Exploring the network: linking other printers

No other printer in this corpus is as well-connected on so many levels as Dawson. I shall nevertheless discuss a few others that have multiple connections or are interesting for other specific reasons. As mentioned earlier, Dawson was an apprentice of Richard Jugge's. Throughout his career, Jugge was granted various patents and licenses, printing predominantly state and church publications, and was highly regarded in the Stationer's Company (see p. 195).⁵⁰⁸ After his death in 1577, his widow, Joan Jugge, continued the business until she died a decade later.

In this corpus, Jugge is responsible for seven publications between 1561 and 1584. The first is a crucial one to this corpus, namely Richard Eden's *Arte of Navigation*, a translation of Martin Cortés's *Breue compendio*. As discussed in Chapter Four, this was the first navigation manual printed in English and Jugge was requested to print it by the Muscovy Company. He printed two later editions of this work and a further two were done by his widow. After her death, it was their son-in-law, Richard Watkins, who arranged for further editions of Cortés to be published by other printers. Another publication, again translated by Eden, was Jean Taisnier's work on magnetism, *De natura magnetis et ejus effectibus*, which Jugge published around 1575 to accompany a Cortés edition. The final item in this corpus that he printed was a new edition, also translated by Eden, of Peter Martyr's *De orbe novo* in 1577.

Jugge's name had already been linked to this translation when it first appeared in 1555, but that was in his capacity as bookseller when he had it printed for him by William Powell. There are four slightly different issues of this 1555 edition of Eden's

⁵⁰⁸ Tedder, 'Jugge, Richard', *ODNB*; Duff, xxviii.

translation of Martyr. All of them were printed by Powell but were done for four different booksellers. Powell was active as a printer in London from about 1547 until 1570 but only printed a handful of books per year after 1553 when he could no longer print law books because he lost the patent to another printer.⁵⁰⁹ The other three booksellers besides Jugge were Robert Toy, Edward Sutton and William Seres. Unlike Toy, who died the year after this publication, Sutton was only at the start of his career as bookseller and book binder. The *STC* records only eleven items that were specifically printed for him. This 1555 edition of Martyr's work was the second of these, whereas the first was another translation by Eden, an extract out of Sebastian Münster's extremely popular *Cosmographia*, which was printed for Sutton by the fervently Protestant Steven Mierdman in 1553. After printing dissident religious works in Antwerp and before moving to Emden, where he would continue to do so, Mierdman was active in London.⁵¹⁰ In his years there, 1548 to 1553, he did much printing for, amongst others, Richard Jugge.

Besides Jugge, Toy and Sutton, the final person for whom Powell printed the 1555 Martyr edition was William Seres, a bookseller who was possibly also a printer later in his career. Seres was active in London from the middle of the century until his death in 1579. His name is found on many shared imprints, especially with the famous printer John Day. Seres was elected Master of the Stationers' Company five times.⁵¹¹ He owned a patent for private prayer books and Primers, for which Henry Denham was assignee from 1578 onwards. Throughout the second half of the sixteenth century,

⁵⁰⁹ *STC*, Vol 3, 137.

⁵¹⁰ Heijting, 'Mierdman, Steven', *ODNB*.

⁵¹¹ Duff, 145-146; Evenden, 'Seres, William', *ODNB*.

Denham was a fairly prolific printer who owned an impressive four presses by 1583.⁵¹² Only one item, from the start of his career, can be found in this corpus, namely the translation of Nicolas Le Challeux's account of the French colony in Florida. It was printed by Denham, probably in 1566, for the translator and bookseller Thomas Hacket, to be sold in his shop in Lombard Street.

An earlier translation that Hacket had made on a similar topic treated by Jean Ribault, *The whole and true discoverye of Terra Florida*, appeared probably in 1563. It was printed for him by Rowland Hall who, after a year in Geneva, was active in London for about three years until his death in that same year. Again, Hacket had the work printed for sale in his own shop. The third and final printer with whom Hacket worked was Henry Bynneman, who produced five of the items in our corpus. He printed Hacket's translation of Thevet's *Singularitez de la France antarctique autrement nommée Amérique* in 1568 to be sold in the translator's shop in Paul's Churchyard. Bynneman was a very prolific printer and bookseller who, according to *ESTC*, printed some 230 items in just two decades, from 1566 until his death in 1584. He is responsible for a further four items that concern us and that appeared about a decade after the work he printed for Hacket. Two volumes on the Indies appeared in 1578, namely part two of Lopez de Gomara's *Historia general de las Indias*, translated by Thomas Nicholls, and John Frampton's translation of *Suma de geographia* by Martín Fernández de Enciso. Another translation by Frampton, Marco Polo's travel account, was printed by Bynneman the following year for bookseller Ralph Newbery. In 1580, finally, the last item by Bynneman was John Florio's translation of Jacques Cartier's *Voyages*.

⁵¹² Rush, 200.

Another important printer is Edward Allde. He learned the trade from his father, John, and took over the business when he died in 1584. Between then and his own death in 1627, he printed some 560 works, according to the *ESTC*. Most of these were assignments for other publishers, with Allde taking on whatever paid; this occasionally brought him into trouble with the law. Concerning this corpus, he printed five out of nine editions of *The safegard of sailers*, a translation by Robert Norman based on the Dutch *Leeskaartboek van Wisbuy*, between 1587 and 1612. Two more publications were printed by Allde in 1596. The first was an edition of Cortés's *Breue compendio* in Eden's translation, printed for Richard Watkins, who had previously paid Abel Jeffes for the 1589 edition of Cortés. The second 1596 publication by Allde was also produced for another printer, namely Bonham Norton, William's son. It concerns the fifth edition of Nicolas Monardes's *Historia medicinal*, translated by John Frampton as *Ioyfull newes out of the new-found vvorlde*.

The first four editions of this work had been printed for William Norton, who, as we said earlier, was a bookseller active throughout the second half of the sixteenth century. Most of the sixty-odd works that the *STC* links to his name were printed for him, sometimes at his own expense. These include the four editions of Monardes's *Historia medicinal*, printed for him by John Kingston and later Thomas Dawson. After William's death in 1593, his son took over and arranged, amongst many other things, for a new Monardes edition to be printed in 1596. He teamed up with several other printers for specific patents and licenses and was eventually one of the King's Printers between 1617 and 1629. It was at the start of this new career development, in 1617, that another translation appeared, namely an English version of *Terra australis incognita* from Pedro Fernandes de Quirós's *Relacion de un memorial*. It was printed

for the bookseller John Hodgets jointly by Bonham Norton and John Bill, also a King's Printer in partnership with Bonham. Bill's former master was Bonham's cousin, John Norton, so they must have known each other fairly well, which explains their partnership. He worked as a bookseller and printer in the first three decades of the seventeenth century and, judging by his large output, had a very successful business.

The previous King's Printer, from whom Norton and Bill took over, was Robert Barker, son of 'the redoubtable Christopher Barker', who at one point owned five presses and was Queen's Printer under Elizabeth, from 1577 to 1587.⁵¹³ Upon his death in 1578, his son Robert acquired that title, which he continued to hold under James I and until 1617. Before this appointment, however, Robert Barker printed Edward Wright's translation of Simon Stevin's *Havenvinding*. It appeared in 1599 and was printed for booksellers Ralph Newbery and George Bishop, who were, jointly with Robert, deputies of Christopher Barker. Robert Barker might have also printed another item in our corpus, the 1603 edition of Robert Johnson's translation of Giovanni Botero's *Relazioni universali*, though this is not entirely certain.

Another connection between printers is that of Thomas Judson and John Windet. Judson, the son of John, another stationer, started printing in 1584. He was responsible for some twenty items until he sold his business in 1600. In 1584, Judson teamed up with another printer who had just started printing himself, namely John Windet. Together they produced the first edition of Norman's translation *The safegard of sailers* for the bookseller Richard Ballard. Since Ballard died the following year, he is connected only to this particular edition. As discussed above, later editions of Norman's translation were taken over by Edward Allde. The connection was made via

⁵¹³ Rush, 200.

Windet, who had been an apprentice of John Allde, Edward's father, so they must have known each other fairly well. The roles are reversed when it comes to the 1609 edition of Cortés's *Breue compendio*, translated by Eden. Here it was Windet who took over printing the work from Edward Allde. In fact, after Windet took over from Allde, the next edition, that of 1615, passed on to William Stansby who had been Windet's apprentice since 1589 and took over the business after Windet's death in 1610. Stansby's career thrived as witnessed by the roughly 520 items found in the *ESTC*.

Besides Judson and Stansby, Windet also shared a connection with John Wolfe, another printer. Wolfe was an apprentice of the successful printer John Day, with whom he worked for seventeen years until starting up his own business in 1579. By 1587 he had an office in the Stationers' Hall at the west side of Paul's Churchyard. He is responsible for five items in this corpus, the first of which appeared in 1588, namely Robert Parke's translation of Juan Gonzáles de Mendoza's work on China, *Historia de las cosas mas notables*. Albrecht Meyer's *Methodus describendi*, translated by Philip Jones, appeared the following year. Soon after, in 1591, Wolfe's press was removed from Stationers' Hall and most of his printing material taken over by other printers. As such, Abraham Hartwell's *A report of the kingdome of Congo*, translated from Duarte Lopes's *Relatione del reame di Congo*, is listed in *STC* as having been printed for John Wolfe in 1597 but it is not indicated by whom exactly. Most of Wolfe's post-1593 publications seem to have been printed by John Windet, however, including two in our corpus. These both appeared in 1598 and are translations made by William Phillip from Dutch originals: Jan Huygen van Linschoten's *Itinerario* and Cornelis de Houtman's *Iournael vande reyse der Hollandtsche schepen ghedaen in Oost Indien*.

Another printer who received a share of Wolfe's printing material was Adam Islip. Most of his output concerns law books from the Stationers' Company's English Stock, for which he held a patent between 1605 and 1629. However, outside of that area he seems to have printed some other items as well, including two that are found in our corpus. They are both quite random publications, however. The first was the fifth edition of Norman's *The safegard of sailers* of 1600 and must have been an odd assignment as the previous and following editions of that work were both printed by Edward Allde. The second, in 1616, was the sixth edition of Botero's *Relazioni universali*, translated by Robert Johnson, to be sold by the bookseller John Jaggard.

Jaggard, who had been one of the apprentices employed by the printer and bookseller Richard Tottell, inherited his master's shop in 1593, on Tottell's death. Of the twenty-four books that the *STC* lists as having been printed for Jaggard, six are editions of Giovanni Botero in Robert Johnson's translation, *The trauellers breuiat, or, An historicall description of the most famous kingdomes in the world*. The first two, both dated 1601, were printed by Edmund Bollifant, one of the partners in the Eliot's Court Press, a syndicate of printers housed in Eliot's Court in the Little Old Bailey just outside the city walls. Since Bollifant died the following year, the next edition in 1603 was printed by someone else. This might have been Richard Barker, at the time King's Printer. In any case, the fourth and fifth editions, appearing in 1608 and 1611 respectively, went to John Jaggard's brother William. He was also a bookseller but started printing for himself around 1600 and eventually became printer to the City of London, a position that had previously been held by John Windet between 1601 and 1610 and before him John Wolfe, from 1593 to 1601. Why William Jaggard did not print the sixth edition is unclear. Instead, it was done by Islip, as mentioned above.

There is one more edition in 1630 but this was printed and sold by other people since both the Jaggard brothers died in 1623. It was taken up by another partner in the Eliot's Court Press, John Haviland, and sold in the shop of bookseller John Partridge.

Two more items in our corpus were printed at Eliot's Court Press but without any mention of a specific printer's name. The first is Richard Hakluyt's translation of the *Tratado* by Antonio Galvão in 1601. The *STC* lists two partners that were active at the press in that year, namely Edmund Bollifant and Arnold Hatfield. The second item is the first edition of Marc Lescarbot's *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, translated by Pierre Erondelle and printed in 1609. In that year, too, there were two partners actively engaged at the press, again, Hatfield, but also Melchisidec Bradwood. Who exactly was responsible for producing these works remains unclear but we do know that they were printed at the expense of the same man, George Bishop. He is listed as a bookseller but was really more of what we would now understand as a publisher. Bishop requested and paid for a huge amount of works to be printed, some three hundred works according to the *STC*, appearing between 1569 and 1611. Although not a printer himself, Bishop had two strong links to the Queen's Printing House. First of all he was married to Mary Cawood, daughter of the Queen's Printer, John Cawood. But more importantly, together with Ralph Newbery and Robert Barker, he was a Deputy of the Queen's Printer, Christopher Barker, from 1587 until 1599. An example of such publishing by these three people, Bishop, Newbery and Barker, is Simon Stevin's *Havenvinding*, translated by Edward Wright in 1599, which I mentioned earlier. Even though this lucrative agreement was ended by the time Bishop paid for the Galvão and Lescarbot translations to be printed, it must have left him with considerable influence in the London printing world.

There is another connection to be traced via George Bishop and this concerns the book shop ‘The (Blue) Bell’, which was located in Paul’s Churchyard in the area of the adjacent St. Faith’s Parish. Bishop inherited it from his former master Robert Toy, whom we have already encountered as a bookseller working with the printer William Powell sometime after Toy’s death in 1556. In around 1609, a couple of years before Bishop died, he bequeathed the shop to Thomas Adams, who had been selling books in various locations in Paul’s Churchyard since 1593 and is linked in the *STC* to some one hundred and fifteen items. One of these was Eden’s translation of Peter Martyr’s *De orbe novo*, which appeared again in 1612, this time printed by Thomas Dawson to be sold by Thomas Adams. After his death, his widow, Elizabeth Adams, continued in the shop for a further five years until she handed it over, together with some old stock, to an apprentice of theirs in 1625. This apprentice was Andrew Hebb, who continued selling books there until at least 1640. His name is connected in the *STC* to forty-five items, two of which can be found in our corpus of maritime books. The first of these was another edition of Eden’s Martyr translation, possibly printed in 1625. This means that there were three editions sold by booksellers at The Bell, namely Toy (fourth edition in 1555), Adams (sixth edition in 1612) and finally Hebb (seventh edition around 1625). About a year later, around 1626, the second edition of Marc Lescarbot’s *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* was printed for Hebb. Again, there is a connection to The Bell since the first edition of this translation by Pierre Erondelle had been printed for Bishop in 1609.

Further connections between the printers and booksellers in our corpus can be identified. One is provided by those stationers connected to a translation done by Robert Copland in 1528, namely Pierre Garcie’s *Routier de la Mer*. Copland had been a

servant to Wynkyn de Worde, who himself was a printer in Westminster and London and had been an assistant of William Caxton.⁵¹⁴ Having learned the trade in de Worde's house, Copland not only translated but also printed the first edition of this *The rutter of ye see*, as he called it in English. It was paid for by the bookseller and printer Richard Bankes. A second edition was printed in 1536 and it is the first book in which the name of the printer Thomas Petyt is found. Besides being a printer, Petyt also sold books and had a shop that was located in St. Faith's Parish, next to that of Robert Toy. Robert Copland died in the late 1540s and his printing business was taken over by William Copland, who might have been his son. William printed a third edition of the *Rutter* around 1555, as well as a sixth just before his own death around 1567. Between these two, however, are a further two editions. The fourth states it was printed by John Walley, although it is unclear whether he ever owned a press himself. He was, however, a bookseller and had co-operated on fourteen editions between 1547 and 1565 with one or both of the Coplands. For the fifth edition, printed by Thomas Colwell, no immediate link to the Coplands can be traced. Colwell received his printing material from the printer Robert Wyer and one of the first items he printed was Copland's translation of *Garcie*, in around 1560. The seventh and final edition of this work was printed by yet another person, namely John Awdely, in around 1573, to be sold by Anthony Kitson. Here we have yet another link going back a few decades, since Kitson was a former apprentice of Petyt, who freed him as a Draper in 1550.

Upon Awdely's death in 1575, his printing material passed to the bookseller John Charlewood, who took up printing for himself from that time onwards. Between then and his death in 1593, Charlewood is linked, according to the *STC*, to some two

⁵¹⁴ Duff, 173–174.

hundred and thirty items, two of which can be found in this corpus. The last one is relatively straightforward, namely Anthony Ashley's *The mariners mirrour*, a translation of the *Spieghel der zeevaerdt* by Lucas Janszoon Waghenaeer, which Charlewood printed around 1588. The first item is more complicated, however, as it involves multiple printers. It concerns Agustín de Zárate's *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista del Peru*, translated by Thomas Nicholls as *The discoverie and conquest of the prouinces of Peru*. This work was printed in 1581 by three printers: John Charlewood, William How and John Kingston. Both Charlewood and Kingston had been freed as Grocers by printer and publisher Richard Grafton, albeit a decade apart.⁵¹⁵ No immediate connection to How can be found. He was active as a printer for thirty years towards the end of the sixteenth century yet had only a smallish output of just under one hundred items. However, there is one more publication where all three are listed as printers and it appeared just a year after the Zárate text. It, too, was a translation by Thomas Nicholls, this time of Luis Gutierrez de la Vega's *De re militari* [STC 12538].

John Kingston was a printer for some thirty-five years in the second half of the sixteenth century. The *STC* links him to about one hundred and thirty items and states that he had the rights to ten titles of Latin school books.⁵¹⁶ Apart from the Zárate translation, he also printed two editions of Nicolas Monardes's *Historia medicinal*, translated by John Frampton, both in 1577. Kingston died around 1584 and his printing material eventually passed to his son, Felix, who took up printing for himself from 1597 onwards. Felix Kingston appears to have had a successful career with some three

⁵¹⁵ Kingston in 1542 and Charlewood in 1552, see *STC* Vol. 3, 40 and 100.

⁵¹⁶ Vol 3, Index 1, Appendix D & E, 200–202.

hundred items printed between that year and 1640, a two-year stint in Dublin as agent for the Stationers' Company's Irish Stock (1618-1619) and four years of operating the Parish Clerks' Press (1626-1629). About the same time as Kingston's foray into printing, Simon Stafford started printing in London. He had started out as a journeyman printer in Cambridge, before becoming master printer in London around the turn of the century, yet he only printed some one hundred and thirty items in a thirty year time span. One of these, at the start of his career, was printed in partnership with Felix Kingston, namely William Walker's translation of *Iournael oft dagh-register, inhoudende een waerachtigh verhael vande reyse ghedaen 1598*, an account of the Dutch admiral Jacob Corneliszoon Van Neck. They printed it in 1601 to be sold at the Royal Exchange, by bookseller Cuthbert Burby, and at the Black Bear in Paul's Churchyard by John Flasket. There appears to be no immediate link between Kingston and Stafford, but they did each print other items for Burby and for Flasket at around the same time, although never together.⁵¹⁷

Besides this joint publication with Stafford, Kingston was responsible for three more publications found in this corpus. In 1609 and again in 1611, he printed Richard Hakluyt's translation *Virginia richly valued*, which in the second edition becomes *The vvorthye and famous history, of the trauailes, discouery, & conquest, of that great continent of Terra Florida* and was the account of an unknown Portuguese gentleman. Both were produced for Matthew Lownes, a member of an entire family of stationers, who as a bookseller was linked to just under two hundred items between 1595 and 1625. Kingston's final publication that is of relevance to us was printed in 1610,

⁵¹⁷ See *ESTC*: Kingston printed one more for Burby and four for Flasket between 1600–1606; Stafford printed five more for Burby and four for Flasket between 1599–1603.

namely the second edition of Edward Wright's *Certaine errors in nauigation*, which, though not a translation itself, included an English translation of Rodrigo Zamorano's *Compendio de la arte de navegar*.

The final joint venture of pertinence to our corpus is that of printers Bernard Alsop and Thomas Fawcet. Unlike the others we have discussed, however, this was not an occasional joining of forces but an actual partnership, established from 1625 onwards. At the start of his career, however, in around 1616, Alsop was taken on as a partner by another printer, Thomas Creede, who turned his business over to him in 1617, before dying a couple of years later. One item of our corpus was printed by Creede near the start of his career, Thomas Nicholls's *The pleasant historie of the conquest of the West India, now called new Spaine*, a translation of part of Francisco López de Gómara's *Historia General de las Indias*. This second edition appeared in 1596 whereas the first was printed by Bynneman almost two decades before. After Creede withdrew from the business, Alsop continued printing on his own for about eight years before entering a new partnership, which, given the amount of time it lasted, must have been beneficial. His partner, Thomas Fawcet, was a new printer as he has no items to his name before 1625. In fact, between that date and 1640, which marks the cut-off point for both the *STC* and our corpus, his name is never found by itself in an imprint.

The first time that Alsop's and Fawcett's joint names appear on works that feature in the present corpus is in 1630, when the tenth and last edition of Eden's translation of Cortés was published for the bookseller John Tapp, who was also its editor. The two printers were also responsible for the eighth and the ninth, which was also the last, editions of *The safegard of sailers*, a translation out of Dutch by Robert

Norman. These items appeared in 1632 and 1640 to be sold respectively by Joseph and George Hurlock. Joseph was a bookseller from 1631 until his death, just three years later at which point his brother, George, took over. The history of their shop is of particular interest to us and for this reason will form the subject of the following section. It can actually be traced back over a time span of sixty-odd years.

2.3. Specialised booksellers: the shop ‘at St. Magnus Corner’

As there were some printers who specialised in certain types of works, so, too, some booksellers chose to focus on books pertaining to specific subjects. This is indeed the case for those of our navigational works that were sold in the ‘shop at St. Magnus Corner’. It was located in or near Lower Thames Street by London Bridge and the church of St. Magnus. This location is crucial since it meant that all the travellers entering the City from the South had to pass by St. Magnus and hence very much by or near the book shop. In fact, St Magnus Corner was ‘an important meeting place of medieval London where notices were read and malefactors punished’ and in the mid-1560s the famous Bible translator Miles Coverdale was rector of this church.⁵¹⁸

In tracing the history of the link between the shop and the sale of navigational works, we shall work backwards from 1640 to 1579, the date for which we have the earliest records. The last people to own the shop during the period with which we are concerned were, as we said above, the Hurlock brothers. George continued selling there well past 1640 and between 1632 and 1640 his name is linked to thirteen books, which included John Aspley’s *Speculum nauticum. A looking glasse, for sea-men* [STC

⁵¹⁸ Hibbert, 782; see also *St Magnus the Martyr, London Bridge* (history of the church).

861.3], Charles Saltonstall's *The navigator* [STC 21640], Richard Norwood's *The sea-man's practice* [STC 18691], John Roberts's *The compleat cannoniere: or, The gunners guide* [STC 21092] as well as *The safegard of sailers* mentioned above. Before George, it was Joseph who ran the shop between 1631 and his death in 1634. Apart from the *Speculum nauticum*, which he sold jointly with his brother, and the eighth edition of *The safegard of sailers*, his name in *STC* is mentioned in connection to just five more works. Four of these concern items printed originally for John Tapp: two are entered in the Stationers' Register, Edward Wright's *The description and vse of the sphaere* [STC 26022] and Bartholomäus Pitiscus's *Trigonometry: or, The doctrine of triangles* [STC 19968a], and two are actual publications, namely new editions of Tapp's *The sea-mans kalender* [STC 23682.5 and 23682.7]. This is not surprising if we consider that John Tapp was the previous owner of this shop. Joseph apparently acquired it by marrying Tapp's widow, Elizabeth.⁵¹⁹

John Tapp was originally a Draper and freed as such by Hugh Astley in 1597 before transferring to the Stationers' Company in 1600 along with his former master, Astley, and ten others.⁵²⁰ He set up shop for himself in Tower Hill, described as being near the Bulwark gate, where he stayed between 1602 and 1609; he was the first bookseller reported in the area. While there, twelve works were printed for him, including his own *The seamans calendar* [STC 23679 and 23679.5], which was the first attempt at a nautical almanac and was updated and reprinted every few years. Other items included Richard Polter's *The pathway to perfect sayling* [STC 20093], John Smith's *A trve relation of such occurrences and accidents of note as hath hapned*

⁵¹⁹ STC Vol. 3, 87.

⁵²⁰ Johnson, 2.

in Virginia [STC 22795 and 22795.7], the eighth edition of Eden's translation of Cortés and John Searle's *An ephemeris for nine yeeres* [STC 22142]. In 1610, the year following Astley's death, Tapp took over his former master's shop at St Magnus Corner where he stayed until his own death in 1631.⁵²¹ From the thirty-seven items with which his name is connected during this period, and that are listed in the *STC*, it is clear that his focus remained on nautical and mathematical books. We thus find the seventh edition of Norman's translation *The safegard of sailers* and well as Norman's own *The nevve attractive* [STC 18652], Wright's *The description and vse of the sphære* [STC 26021 and 26022], Pitiscus's *Trigonometry* [STC 19966, 19967 and 19968], Edmund Gunter's *A canon of triangles* [STC 12518] and *The description and vse of the sector* [STC 12521, 12521.3 and 12521.5], Robert Norton's *Of the art of great artillery* [STC 18676] and *The gunners dialogue* [STC 18674], William Batten's *A most plaine and easie way for the finding of the sunnes amplitude and azimuth* [STC 1590.5], as well as six further editions of his own *Kalendar* and two more of Cortés's *Arte of navigation*.

Besides selling books, Tapp also taught navigation, advised seamen, edited works and wrote his own. His passion for this particular field tied in very well with that of his former master, Hugh Astley. Originally from Warwickshire, Astley had been apprenticed to the Stationer William Seres but, upon agreement, changed over to Abraham Veale, who was originally a Draper but is listed as a brother of the Stationers' Company in 1576.⁵²² As a result of this agreement, Astley was freed as a Draper by Veale in 1583 and it was not until 1600 that he transferred to the Stationers' Company,

⁵²¹ He was buried on 10 May 1631 at the church of St Magnus (Le Fevre, 'Tapp, John', *ODNB*).

⁵²² Ames, Vol. 3, 1381–1382; *STC*, Vol. 3, 173; Duff, 161–162.

the most senior of all twelve men who were allowed to do so at that point. He ran a shop at St Magnus Corner from 1588 to 1608, probably one year before his death, and during this time twelve items are linked to his name. Also printed for him were Norman's *The newe attractiue* [STC 18649 and 18650] and three editions of his translation *The safegard of sailers*, an edition of Eden's translation of Cortés, as well as a work by the Flemish mathematician Simon Stevin, translated as *Disme: the art of tenths, or, decimall arithmetike* [STC 23264].

Up until now, it has been easy to trace the history of this shop as there are records indicating the ownership exercised by each of these booksellers, whom they bequeathed it to or from whom they received it. However, that trail becomes rather vaguer as we go further back. The bookseller listed by the *STC* as being 'at St. Magnus corner' before 1588, when Astley took it over, is Richard Ballard. However, a problem arises in that Ballard died in 1585. There is therefore a gap of three years during which we know nothing about the ownership. Nevertheless, we need to consider the following: Ballard and Astley were both freed as Drapers by the same person, Abraham Veale, albeit five years apart, in 1578 and 1583 respectively.⁵²³ This connection increases the likelihood that they knew each other. As freemen, it was possible for them to be active in a trade that was not necessarily that of their company, as Veale, Ballard and Astley all chose to do by selling books. It might very well have been possible therefore that Astley took over immediately from Ballard in 1585, though there is no remaining record of his owning the shop before the first listing of 1588. Indeed, what little research has been done on the shop and stationers at St Magnus Corner seems to

⁵²³ *STC*, Vol 3, 7 and 9; Johnson, 6 n. 13.

agree on only one thing, that Astley took over Ballard's premises.⁵²⁴ In discussing the books sold there, however, we are on firmer ground. During the years 1579 to 1585, when Ballard was selling books from that location, his name was linked to eight works, which included two editions of Norman's *The newe attractiue* [STC 18647 and 18648] as well as a copy of Norman's translation, *The safegard of sailers*, and Anthony Munday's *Ballad in praise of the navy* [STC 18259.7].

Going back beyond Ballard's tenure of the bookshop on St Magnus Corner, we find two more booksellers listed as 'dwelling at St Magnus Corner', although we do not know the exact location of their shops. These were the Draper James Rowbotham in 1577 and, from 1558 until 1570, William Pickering, who enjoys the honour of being 'the earliest bookseller on London Bridge'.⁵²⁵ They, too, are linked to a few nautical and mathematical books but since none of those feature in our corpus, this is not the place to discuss them in any detail.

What can be learned from this more in-depth study of one specific bookshop location is that, indeed, as H. S. Bennett said in Volume II of *English Books and Readers*, some booksellers specialised in certain kinds of books.⁵²⁶ We have seen how, over a period of sixty years, five booksellers at St Magnus corner increasingly focused on nautical and mathematical works and could thus be called 'specialized booksellers'.⁵²⁷ They earned this title by taking over rights to items previously sold at

⁵²⁴ Adams, Thomas R., 'The Beginnings of Maritime Publishing', 218; Johnson, 6 n. 13; Plomer, 'The Church of St. Magnus', 386; Plomer, 'The Booksellers of London Bridge', 30; Gray, 63. As well as the uncertainty about the exact dating of Astley's ownership, there is some debate over the chronology and succession, whether or not it concerns the exact same premises, and, where precisely the shop was located. This is clearly an area that could benefit from further research.

⁵²⁵ Gray, 57; Duff, 121.

⁵²⁶ Bennett, 259–260 and 275.

⁵²⁷ Taylor, *Mathematical Practitioners*, 258.

the St Magnus shop, thereby ensuring new and updated reprints, but they also published new titles.

2.4. Moving towards the periphery: the remaining printers and booksellers

There are a few more printers and booksellers involved in the network under discussion, whom I have not yet spoken of but who deserve some attention, albeit brief. I shall start with Ralph Newbery, a name that has actually been mentioned but in connection to the printer Robert Barker and bookseller George Bishop as the Deputies of the Queen's Printer, Christopher Barker. As well as having that link, Newbery also teamed up on occasion with the printers Henry Bynneman and Henry Denham, collaborating with the latter to buy copyrights belonging to Bynneman. He was active as a bookseller between 1560 and his death in 1604 and during this time his name is linked to some one hundred and sixty *STC* items, three of which are found in this corpus. The first was Edward Hellowes's translation of Antonio de Guevara's *Arte del maerar y de los inventores de ellas*, printed for him by Henry Middleton in 1578. A year later, Bynneman printed John Frampton's translation *The most noble and famous trauels of Marcus Paulus* for him. Two decades later, in 1599, jointly with Bishop and Barker, he published Simon Stevin's *Havenvinding*, translated by Edward Wright.

This Henry Middleton who printed Newbery's first publication, was the son of the printer William Middleton, and stepson of the printer William Powell, who had married Middleton's widow. Henry himself was active as a printer for two decades, between 1567 and his death in 1587. Hellowes's translation is the only item in this corpus that he printed but at the start of his career he shared printing material with

Thomas East, another printer found in this network. East started out in the same year as Middleton but lived longer, until 1608, during which time he printed a variety of works, including much music from about 1587 onwards.⁵²⁸ Before this time, however, two works in our corpus were printed by him: in 1582 the first book of Fernão Lopes de Castanheda's *Historia do descobrimento e conquista da India pelos Portugueses*, translated by Nicholas Lichefield (=Thomas Nicholls?), and in 1587 the translation *Nevv Mexico. Otherwise, The voiage of Anthony of Espeio* by 'A. F.'. This last was printed for Thomas Cadman, bookseller in the 1570s and 1580s.

Another Newbery is present in this printer-bookseller network although he is not, as far as I could tell, related to Ralph. Nathaniel Newbery, originally a Haberdasher, sold books in two shops simultaneously between 1614 and his death in 1636. The *STC* connects his name to about one hundred and thirty items, only one of which is relevant to us here, namely William Phillip's translation of Willem Corneliszoon Schouten's *Journal ofte beschryvinghe van de wonderlicke reyse*, printed for him by Thomas Dawson in 1619. Three more booksellers were connected to Dawson. The first of these is William Broome, a bookseller between 1577 and his death in 1591. Some thirty items were printed for him during this fourteen-year period including Bartolomé de Las Casas's *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*, translated by 'M. M. S' and printed by Dawson in 1583. Next is William Arundell, for whom Dawson printed Jean Loiseau de Tourval's translation of Henri de Feynes's *An exact and curious suruey of all the East Indies* in 1615. Arundell's name is connected to only a further eleven items, which is not surprising since he was active as a bookseller for just four years, between 1614 and 1617. The last bookseller linked to

⁵²⁸ Plomer, 'Thomas East, Printer', 308ff.

Dawson is Michael Sparke. He seems to have been quite an active bookseller-publisher with almost two hundred items connected to his name between 1617 and 1640, and he continued to sell until his death in 1653. Sparke also imported books from the Continent and exported works to the American colonies, where his brother was settled in Virginia and his nephew in Bermuda.⁵²⁹ The one book that concerns us, however, is the eighth and last edition of Richard Eden's translation of Peter Martyr's *De orbe novo*, which was printed by Dawson for Sparke in 1628.

We can make one final chain of connections that links up the remaining handful of stationers via the works they printed. It starts with Richard Jones, who was a bookseller and occasional printer between 1564 and 1613. In these fifty-odd years, he was responsible for selling and printing some two hundred and twenty-five items. We find one indication of him as a bookseller in our corpus, namely Agustín de Zárate's *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista del Peru*, translated by Thomas Nicholls and printed for Jones by the printers John Charlewood, William How and John Kingston in 1581. In his capacity as a printer, Jones is responsible for Thomas Hickock's translation of Cesare Federici's *Viagge*, which appeared in 1588. This was in co-operation with the bookseller Edward White, who was active from 1577 until his death in around 1613. Another connection can be traced via a namesake of Edward White's, although he was apparently not a relative, William White, who was active between 1588 and 1617, the approximate year of his death. Although William was also a bookseller, he is present in this network only as a printer. For the first eight years of his career he was in partnership with another printer and bookseller, Gabriel Simson, who had been an apprentice of Richard and Joan Jugge's. It is through this connection that

⁵²⁹ Baron, 'Sparke, Michael', *ODNB*.

White and Simson took over the printing material of the Jugges via their son-in-law Richard Watkins. In 1598, however, White acquired Richard Jones's printing materials and set up his own printing house. It is from here that, in 1605, he printed William Phillip's translation of Gerrit de Veer's *Waerachtighe beschrijvinghe van drie seylagien*. This work was to be sold by Thomas Pavier, another Draper who had transferred to the Stationers' Company in 1600 and was active as a bookseller from that time until his death in 1625.⁵³⁰

The links I have traced between specific printers, booksellers and their colleagues in the previous sections are based on two types of connections. The first are personal interactions, such as family ties, apprenticeships with a specific stationer or alongside another apprentice as well as marrying a stationer's daughter or widow and taking over a stationer's shop or printing materials. Another type of connections are those found through the publications. These contain interactions between specific printers and/or booksellers that are traced following information found in imprints and colophons, on title-pages and in paratexts. We can assume that such business connections were the result of personal interactions as well, but it is not always possible to document this. Where possible, I have traced both types of interactions linking them up to form a chain of connections moving from one stationer to the next. This does not imply, however, that everyone knew everyone, which would be impossible over a time span of one hundred and twelve years. It does, however, show how close the London community of stationers was, and provides a further context for the production of the navigational works in our corpus.

⁵³⁰ *STC*, Vol. 3, 133; Johnson, 2.

2.5. Pinpointing printers and book shops: locations in and around the City of London

All of the works in this corpus were printed in London, so I have tried to go into a little more detail by establishing the exact locations where the printers were operating from.⁵³¹ This geographical proximity reinforces a sense of community and facilitates the formation of a network. Since some of them very often moved around or were active in multiple locations throughout their careers, I shall discuss only those that were relevant for the items in our corpus. Eight printers are not associated with any specific address: John Bill, Adam Islip, Abel Jeffes, Thomas Judson, John Kingston, Steven Mierdman, Bonham Norton and William Stansby. For the remaining thirty, I have been able to find exact locations in the *STC* index.⁵³² Only three operated from multiple locations and produced items found in our corpus: Henry Bynneman was located in two different places in Thames Street, Richard Jugge in Paul's Churchyard and in Newgate (within), and finally Edward Allde, who printed from the Royal Exchange, Cripplegate (without), Thames Street and Newgate (within). The remaining twenty-six printers are associated with only one specific location.

⁵³¹ This concentration of works from London is not surprising given that, unlike the situation prevailing on the Continent, England's printing trade operated almost exclusively in London and the whole national trade was regulated by the Stationers' Company, also located in London.

⁵³² *STC*, Vol. 3, Index 3: Selected London Indexes, 227–259. Index 3E: 'London addresses' has divided London into different sections. Since I have adapted the map that was used in *STC*, I shall also adopt their terminology for identifying and differentiating between these different sections of early modern London.

Fig. 19: Geographical spread of the printers (in blue) and the booksellers (in orange)



Looking at the geographical boundaries of London as it was then and reproduced in figure 19, I shall briefly describe the limits before applying them to our corpus.⁵³³ This shall give us a clearer idea of the extent of the area inhabited by the printers and booksellers of navigational works. In the northern section of the area, printers are found just outside the city walls by Cripplegate and Moorgate, namely in Barbican, Grub Street and Fore Street. The natural limit in the south is the River Thames, with such places as Paul's Wharf and Three-Crane Wharf. Heading east, the furthest location is Catherine Wheel Alley which falls under the area 'Thames Street 3' and leads from there to the river bank. Finally, the furthestmost point west on the map that was inhabited by printers, is Temple Bar, although in actual fact there was a press further west at Charing Cross, which is off the map. While three of these geographical boundaries that delimit the space occupied by printers correspond to those on the Leake-Ogilby map, this is not the case with the eastern one. About one third of the area on the map remains without any representation in our list of printers. This means that areas such as Bishopsgate (within, without and beyond), Aldgate (within and without), the area east of the Royal Exchange, Leadenhall and environs, and finally 'Thames Street 4: Customs House to the Tower and beyond' are all omitted in the case of our corpus.

Now that we have established the geographical boundaries, it is time to look at where the printers of navigational works are concentrated (fig. 20). Of the thirty-four different print locations, nineteen (56%) are within the city walls and fifteen (44%) outside of them. Starting in the City, there are two concentrations that cover all but two

⁵³³ Figures 19–21 are adapted from the Leake-Ogilby map found in *STC*, Vol. 3, Index 3E: London addresses, between pages 246–247, which was conceived by Katharine F. Pantzer and executed by John Mitchell (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1991).

Fig. 20: Approximate locations of the printers showing two areas of concentration



of the nineteen printers within the walls. The first area, with nine printers, is Paul's Churchyard and its surroundings.

In the Churchyard location itself, we only find three printers: Thomas Petyt, John Wolfe and Richard Jugge. Given that it holds the biggest concentration of stationers in this period, an importance emphasised by the fact that it receives its own index in the *STC*, it is surprising that so few printers of items in our corpus are found there. However, if we include the immediate surroundings we find several more in the Newgate and Aldersgate areas. These are Henry Denham and Felix Kingston on Paternoster Row, Edward Alde and Richard Jugge near Christ Church, Robert Barker in St. Martin's Lane and Rowland Hall in Gutter Lane. The second concentration is the western half of the Thames Street area with eight printers in total. Starting in the west, we find Simon Stafford in Carter Lane on the upper level and Henry Bynneman both in Knightrider Street on the upper and near Baynard's Castle on the lower. Staying on this lower level and moving east are the printers Thomas East and John Windet, both at or near Paul's Wharf, Edward Alde on Lambeth Hill, Thomas Dawson at the Three-Crane Wharf, and, finally, Thomas Creede in Catherine Wheel Alley. The remaining two locations within the city walls are the Poultry, east of the Royal Exchange, where we find Edward Alde under St. Mildred's Church, and a block further north on Lothbury, William Copland near St. Margaret's Church.

Outside of the city walls, the locations are somewhat more spread out. Furthest west, as we pointed out, was the press at Charing Cross; it was operated by Thomas Colwell. Moving east we find four printers in the Fleet Street Area: William How at Temple Bar, Henry Middleton and William Powell both by St. Dunstan's Church, and on Fleet Bridge Robert Copland. Heading north leads us to Eliot's Court outside

Newgate, to which press both Edmund Bollifant and John Haviland are linked, then to Richard Jones at Holborn Bridge, William White in Cow Lane, Smithfield, and finally John Awdely by Great St. Bartholomew's Church in Little Britain. Finally, there are five printers in the area of 'Cripplegate (without) & Moorgate (beyond)'. These are John Charlewood and William Jaggard in the Barbican, Edward Alde in Fore Street, and, finally, the printing partners Bernard Alsop and William Fawcet in Grub Street.

If we now try to match these geographical locations to moments in time, we can see that from the first item in our corpus, which was printed in 1528, to the mid-1560s, printing is very much confined to the west, with three locations outside the walls (two in the Fleet Street area and one in Charing Cross) and four within them, between Paul's Churchyard, Newgate (within) and Aldersgate (within). In the next fifteen years or so, up to the early 1580s, there are two more Fleet Street addresses and one Newgate (within) location, but three new areas also open up. Within the city walls, Bynneman printed from two locations in the very west of Thames Street, across the city in the Moorgate area a printer set up business, and outside the walls near Aldersgate another appeared. The last two decades of the sixteenth century see the expansion of Thames Street printers, especially those by the river bank, as well as development in the area of Cripplegate (without). Finally, up to 1640, more locations are created in the Newgate and Aldersgate area, both inside and outside the walls, as well as in the environs of Cripplegate. To sum up, in the time span covered by our corpus, we witness not only a gradual increase in the number of presses producing navigational works, but also an extension of the area in which they are found. We shall see if there is a comparable development in the bookselling trade.

Thirty-two booksellers are mentioned in our corpus. Thanks to the *STC*, I have been able to track down the exact locations from which they sold their navigational works for all except William Brome, for whom no address was found. Only two operated from two different shops: Nathaniel Newbery sold from two places very close to each other, namely Pope's Head Alley by the Royal Exchange and the eastern end of Cornhill, whereas Thomas Hacket first had a shop in Lombard Street, also near the Royal Exchange, but then moved to Paul's Churchyard.

The geographical boundaries within which these booksellers were active compare with those of the printers as follows (fig. 19, see p. 266). The southern barrier remains the river Thames, while in the east there are no bookshops past the Bishopsgate-London Bridge axis. This leaves out all the eastern areas in which printers were found: Bishopsgate (within, without and beyond), Aldgate (within and without), most of Leadenhall and environs, and finally 'Thames Street 4: Customs House to the Tower and beyond'. The most western location for booksellers is the Middle Temple, which is similar to the printers (if we leave the Charing Cross address aside for a moment). There is a more marked difference where the northern area is concerned: we find no booksellers higher than Holborn Bridge in the western part and none above even Cornhill in the eastern part. This leaves out the whole area of Smithfield, Aldersgate (without), Cripplegate (within and without) and Moorgate (within and beyond), where, on the contrary, printers were expanding their reach.

Out of the thirty-one booksellers I was able to locate (fig. 21), only four (13%) operated outside of the city walls, leaving twenty-seven (87%) within the city, which is an extremely different situation from that of the printers. However, this makes sense in that they would attract more potential customers in this busier part of London than

Fig. 21: Approximate locations of the booksellers showing three areas of concentration



elsewhere. Starting outside the city, we find John Jaggard by the Middle Temple and, moving up Fleet Street, Ralph Newberry just above the Conduit. Just outside of Newgate was Michael Sparke in Green Arbour, Little Old Bailey, and a little further out, Richard Jones by Holborn Bridge.

Within the city walls, the booksellers can be found in three clearly defined areas. The biggest concentration is in Paul's Churchyard with thirteen specific addresses and a further four undefined locations, accounting for more than half of the booksellers in our corpus.⁵³⁴ Thomas Adams, Thomas Cadman, Richard Jugge, Matthew Lownes and Edward White all sold by the Little North Door and the Great North Door of St. Paul's Cathedral. In the Northeast, we find William Arundell, Antony Kitson and John Partridge. Four booksellers resided in St. Faith's parish, behind the Cathedral, namely George Bishop, Andrew Hebb and Robert Toy, and just a bit further east, William Norton. Finally, on the western side of St. Paul's, William Seres sold in Peter College. The four booksellers without a fixed address, but who we know sold in Paul's Churchyard, are John Flasket, Thomas Hacket, John Hodgets and Richard Watkins. Not too far removed from there, in the Aldersgate area (within), John Walley had a shop in Foster Lane. If we add him to the ones just mentioned, this makes for no fewer than eighteen booksellers in or close to Paul's Churchyard, as we have said, the prime spot for the book trade in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century London.

The second area within the city is around the Royal Exchange. This is where Nathaniel Newbery had one shop in Pope's Head Alley and a second at the eastern end

⁵³⁴ A detailed study of all of the booksellers active in this location is Peter Blayney's *The bookshops in Paul's Cross churchyard*.

of Cornhill. Two further booksellers were located on Cornhill: Cuthbert Burby at the south entrance of the Royal Exchange and Thomas Pavier near it. The other two shops in this neighbourhood were on Lombard Street, run by Edward Sutton and Thomas Hacket respectively. The third and final group of booksellers within the city walls was to be found in Thames Street, in St. Magnus Corner by London Bridge. As we have said earlier, they were Hugh Astley, Richard Ballard, George and Joseph Hurlocke, and John Tapp.

The earliest item in our corpus to mention a bookseller is dated 1553 and is entitled *A treatyse of the newe India* (Eden's translation of part of Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia*). From then to the late 1570s, all the booksellers were located in or very near Paul's Churchyard, with the exception of the two shops in Lombard Street. The last two decades of the sixteenth century saw further shops in Paul's Churchyard, as well as two sellers in St. Magnus Corner and two outside the city walls, namely at Holborn Bridge and Fleet Conduit. It is not until the seventeenth century that the shops on Cornhill and in Pope Head's Alley appear, besides further locations in Paul's Churchyard, St. Magnus Corner and two outside the walls by the Middle Temple and Green Arbour, Little Old Bailey.

Much work has been done on the stationers in London in this period.⁵³⁵ However, no study has focused on the locations and geographical distribution within the city of London of specialised printers and booksellers, or on the networks, both professional and physical, of which they were members. Yet examining both these aspects of the print trade has proved to be valuable where this corpus is concerned. Although modest in comparison with the full range of printers, publishers and

⁵³⁵ See for instance the studies by Blagden, Blayney, Christianson, and Duff.

booksellers published in the *STC*, a list of seventy stationers is still a respectable number of people to research and compare. Furthermore, although our time span falls a little short of the one hundred and sixty five years covered by the *STC*, it nevertheless covers a healthy one hundred and twelve years, namely 1528 to 1640. Lastly, the eighty-four publications we discuss comprise a respectably sized corpus to use as a basis for examining the nature and locations of the specialised print and bookshops. The limitation of that corpus to navigational works should perhaps be seen as an advantage rather than a constraint in assessing the London specialised book trade. A smaller, although significant, corpus is perhaps more representative than much larger ones such as those comprising catechisms, legal texts or even perhaps works of literature. Since there would be a very sizeable market for such popular fields of interest, this might well dictate or influence the careers and locations of these printers and booksellers, as well as the specific times at which they flourish. Moreover, looking at the geographical distribution of printers and booksellers engaged in the far more popular types of books could possibly give even a rather skewed view of the stationers as a whole. Navigational works, on the other hand, generally having less popular appeal, were often taken on as odd printing jobs on the side, which makes this geographical study more representative of the early printing and selling activity as a whole. This aspect of English print history certainly deserves further research.

CONCLUSION

How then should we regard the corpus of translated navigation manuals and related works on discovery and exploration that has been the focus of our attention through the preceding five chapters? For the seafaring nation that early modern England was, knowledge of the seas and of the territories that lay beyond was evidently a prime concern. At the same time, this corpus forms a modest although not insignificant part of the vast world of translations into English printed in England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales before 1641. Since the realisation of the *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads Catalogue*, it is now possible to determine exactly what that part constitutes.

It seems appropriate to conclude our investigations with a reappraisal of our chosen texts within this particular book-historical framework. Where absolute numbers of books are concerned, the corpus constitutes about two percent of the entire catalogue. In order to make any meaningful, overall evaluations, we must be able to make any comparisons between our data as discussed in the thesis and that contained in the whole corpus of translations found in the catalogue. We shall do this for the two following questions: the source languages used and the publication patterns.

A first point of comparison pertains to the linguistic profile of our texts. A calculation of the source languages represented in the *RCC* catalogue makes it apparent that several of these remain absent in this navigational corpus; they appear as ‘Other’ on figure 22. The reasons are clear. The first is a group of languages represented only by a handful of items in the catalogue so it is not surprising that we do not find these languages in our corpus: Danish, Scots, Anglo-Saxon, Turkish, Aramaic and Arabic.

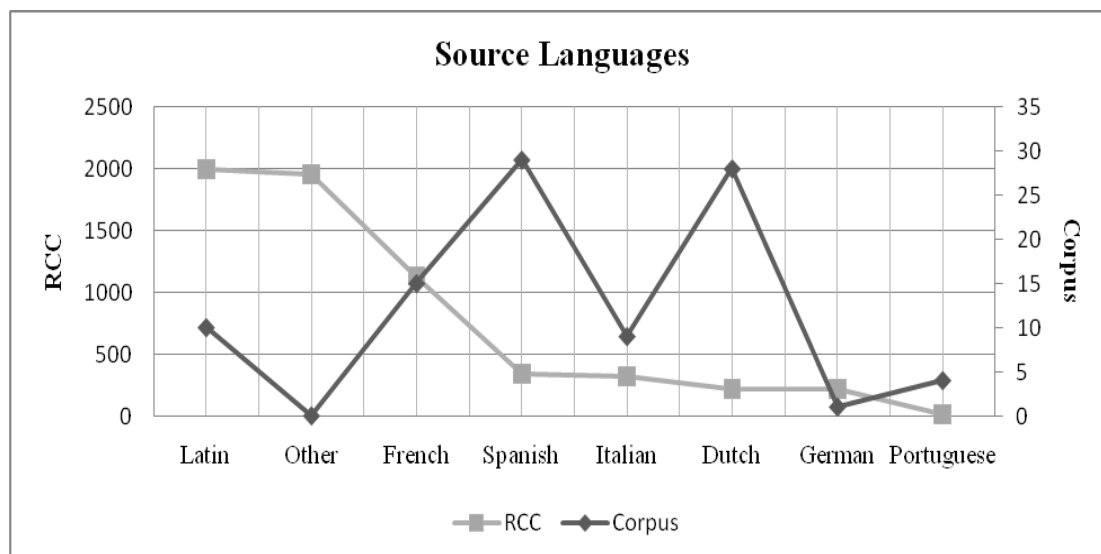


Fig. 22: Comparison of source languages and their importance

The second group comprises two languages: Greek and Hebrew. These are much more important but because they are predominantly connected to Classics and the Bible, they are far removed from the world of navigation manuals and accounts of exploration. This leaves us with seven source languages found in both catalogue and corpus: Latin, Spanish, Dutch, French, Italian, Portuguese and German.

When we compare their overall representation in the former with that in the latter, we can immediately see two marked differences (fig. 22). Firstly, Latin, although by far the most important source language in the entire catalogue, drastically loses its prime position with regard to our collection of texts. Instead, the vernacular languages of the corpus outrank their counterparts in the catalogue in almost all cases. This marks not only a swift demise of Latin as prime language, but also a dramatic shift in importance for the two vernaculars, Spanish and Dutch, which rank behind Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French and Italian in the catalogue. Secondly, Italian and Portuguese

account for more translations in our corpus than in the catalogue and have pushed German down into the lowest place.

I believe that the dethroning of Latin by two vernaculars is a crucial result obtained only thanks to our method of combining both the world of translation and that of navigation: knowledge for the very practical domain of navigation and exploration was sourced from vernacular source texts. This linguistic profile singles the art of seafaring out from other related domains such as mathematics, astrology, astronomy, and to a certain extent geography, where many publications appeared in the prestige language, Latin, which most probably reflected a more ‘intellectual’ milieu. In other words, the demonstrable preponderance of the vernacular languages confirms the common assumption that the environment surrounding those with a professional interest in navigation was of a more practical and down-to-earth nature and relied on speedy up-to-date knowledge gleaned from their competitors in other European countries. Finally, the rise of Spanish and Dutch above the other vernaculars is clearly a result of the nature of this corpus given that both were very successful seafaring nations at the time.

Concerning the publication pattern over the 140 years covered by our thesis, we can first make a general observation, namely that the number of translations published each decade gradually rises as time progresses and techniques improve. When we compare the publication rate of the corpus with that of the entire catalogue (see fig. 23), we can see that, broadly speaking, its book production follows the same trend. However, when we consider the figures in greater detail, we discern a noticeably slower start in the first five decades, followed by a clear peak in the 1570s and 1580s

(see p. 49 and 132), and eventually a drop from about 1610-1620 onwards that stands in contrast to the continuing upwards trend in the catalogue.

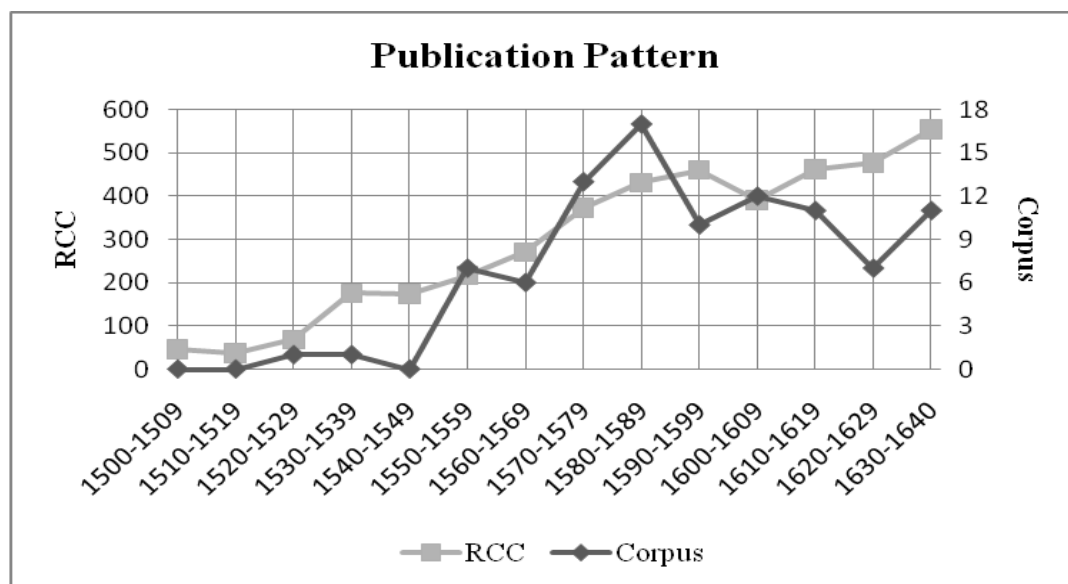


Fig. 23: Comparison of the publication pattern per decade

It is admittedly much more difficult to establish how the comments on translation that can be found in the paratexts compare with those made in other translations. For this purpose, similar research will have to be done on other corpora. In the mean time, however, for translations of navigational works, we were able to glean some valuable insights into the translator's mind through our analysis of the translators' and publishers' dedications and addresses to the reader (Chapter 3). We have found that the translations were usually commissioned by somebody in the profession (merchants, mariners, pilots, merchant companies ...), by a friend of the translator, or indeed a combination of both, because they thought the contents was deemed useful. With that in mind, the translators shared a common objective of making this knowledge public

through the medium of print and the English language, hoping that their work would benefit seamen, as well as make a patriotic contribution to the common good. Such an attitude was expressed in a multitude of terms revolving around profit and commonwealth, a shared lexis which was especially apparent in the final quarter of the sixteenth century.

Translating works on a specific topic for a specific target audience came with its own problems, however. In this case, the translators saw particular challenges in the technical terminology as well as voiced worries over style and selection of the most appealing translation method. It is true that some of the features, of course, were not specific to this type of text. The use of the modesty topos, for example, or the excuse of having the work from a poor source text or of being hurried are familiar elements, found abundantly in other Renaissance paratexts. At the same time, however, we have seen that the specialist field of navigational texts inspired the translators to come up with genre-specific personifications in which they expressed the different relationships between source and target language and source text and translation, and at the same time created a link with the audience. In other words, translations related to the world of seafarers and explorers developed an idiolect and/or imagery of its own.

As well as providing information about navigational translations gleaned from their accompanying paratexts, our thesis has responded to the need for clearer and more up-to-date bibliographical information concerning general publications on navigation. As we pointed out at the start of our study, the 1995 *English Maritime Books Printed Before 1801*, by Thomas R. Adams and David W. Waters is the only comprehensive bibliographical list devoted to the topic of navigation in England to date. However, the work is broad in scope, both thematically and chronologically speaking. Parker's *Books*

to build an Empire, on the other hand, deliberately omits works on the science of navigation.⁵³⁶ This means that there still exists no clear, comprehensive list of all the navigational works published in England before 1641. Our research has rectified this situation in at least one specific area by providing an accurate bibliographical list of translated navigation manuals printed in England (Chapter 2), as well as through its overview of such works originally written in English (Chapter 1). That is, English authors were especially concerned with the mathematical side of navigation, the debate about compass variation, the phenomenon of magnetism, as well as the design and improvement of related technical instruments. In other areas, however, specifically sailing directions and navigation manuals, original English contributions are scarce. As we have argued, this gap had to be filled by turning to the rest of Europe and importing the knowledge found there, translating it, and making it available to an English audience through print.

Although some texts were still passed around in manuscript between colleagues and friends, this thesis has also shown that those with a professional interest in navigation eagerly embraced the relatively new medium of print. It was an excellent way of sharing knowledge on a larger scale and they had nothing to lose by doing so. The more knowledge that was shared, the better the seamen's expertise would be and the more successful their voyages. And successful voyages meant better trade opportunities for England. The more skilled the English seamen were, the more chance they had of keeping their crews and ships safe and on course, which in turn meant better returns of goods and capital. Experience in more accurate navigation also inspired confidence, which resulted in organising and realising more voyages with the

⁵³⁶ Parker, vii.

express intent of exploration and discovery. Lastly, greater experience and competence at sea were of course also crucial for political and military purposes.

All in all, sharing the expertise and knowledge that was sourced in continental Europe could only benefit the nation as a whole and this was made possible by means of the printing press and via the English language. After a relatively slow start, everyone involved in navigation and trade must have realised the potential of print since we see more texts being published at a faster rate, with several works even appearing in translation in the same year that their source text was first published. An excellent example was Richard Eden's *The Arte of Navigation* (1561), translated from Martin Cortés's *Breue compendio de la sphaera y de la arte de nauegar* (1551). Not only was it the first navigation manual printed in English, but we have firmly established just how vitally important this work was to the English readers through a detailed investigation into the production of its ten editions by several different printers and booksellers (Chapter 4).

Finally, establishing the links between the two connected professions of printing and selling books has shown just how tight-knit a community the London stationers who catered to a public with interests in seafaring and discovery were. Confined to specific parts within and outside of the city walls, they literally operated in close proximity to each other. However, geographical boundaries apart, we have uncovered professional links of partnerships, some fixed, others temporary, as well as relationships between masters and apprentices. Mixed in with all of the above are family connections: fathers and sons, brothers, husbands, wives and widows. Moreover, by limiting our book-historical analyses to one specific topic, namely that of navigational works, we were able to detect the beginnings of specialisation in the

English book trade, which has contributed to a greater understanding of its workings in London. This was best seen in the case of the shop at St. Magnus Corner, but also in the output of a printer such as Thomas Dawson (Chapter 5).

To share the knowledge found in these books on navigation, it was not enough to translate and print them, one also had to know how to market them. Exploring the paratexts has revealed a few factors that facilitated this: the use of illustrations on title-pages to capture the attention of a prospective buyer, the phrasing of the titles themselves to put the text in as positive a light as possible in order to appeal to an intended reader, the printing of the names of prestigious dedicatees, and the addresses to the reader stressing the benefit and profit both on a personal and a national level and expressing them further in enticing figures of speech designed to capture a prospective reader's interest (Chapter 3).

It is clear that everyone involved in the translation, production and dissemination of navigational translations stood to gain from the enterprise. Printers and booksellers were looking for an income and preferably a speedy return on their investment. Some translators were paid to perform their task, be it by a merchant company, a patron or someone else. Others were persuaded by friends and colleagues from a patriotic and/or professional angle to put their talent for languages to good use. Readers found a wealth of expertise and knowledge which they could apply to furthering their own careers, but, which might also persuade them to invest in upcoming voyages of trade and exploration. This effect on potential investors in future voyages was of crucial importance to the success of fledgling merchant companies, but also to the growth of England as a nation.

By limiting ourselves to a specific topic, that of navigation, we have arguably adopted a narrow focus. However, by studying, for the first time, its overlay with the worlds of translation and the early book trade, we have revealed an intricate web of connections that had to date not been explored as such (Chapter 5). We have added some much-needed information to three independent and important fields of study concerning Renaissance England, namely the practice of translation, the history of navigation and the development of the print trade. We have also introduced or provided more information about many figures who participated in the production of navigational translations. Names such as Richard Hakluyt and Richard Eden are well-known, but others, like the translator and bookseller Thomas Hacket, the printer Thomas Dawson or the translators John Frampton and Thomas Nicholls, have at last benefited in these pages from well-deserved critical attention. Lastly, by interconnecting the three fields of translation, navigation and print, I have not only demonstrated their inter-dependence, but I have shed new light on certain aspects of each of these areas that would otherwise not have emerged. Above all, I have shown that in Renaissance and early modern England navigation, translation and print were inextricably connected, and that without the sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century translators' and printers' contribution to the nation's seafaring knowledge, England's path to dominion over the world seas might have been very different indeed.

LIST OF PUBLISHED TRANSLATIONS OF NAVIGATION MANUALS AND RELATED WORKS PRINTED BEFORE 1641

This is a complete bibliographical list of all the translations that form our corpus and are discussed in this thesis. Mentioned also are the copies, both electronic and physical, that I was able to consult. For those seen electronically, I added the name of the library that holds the physical copy from which the electronic version was obtained. For the books that I was able to consult in a library, I included the shelfmark.

Cornelis Antoniszoon, *The safegard of sailers, or great rutter, con[tai]ning the courses, distances, depthes, sounding[s,] floudes and ebbes, vvith the markes for the entrings of sundrie harboroughs, both of England, Fraunce, Spaine, Ireland, Flaunders, and the soundes of Denmarke, with other necessarie rules of common nauigation: Translated out of Dutch into English, by Robert Norman, hydrographer*, London: John Windet and Thomas Judson for Richard Ballard, 1584

Translator: Robert Norman

Copies Consulted: EEBO (Bodleian); BL, 1653/827.

Bibliographical Source: STC 21545

——, *The safegard of sailers: or great rutter. Containing the courses, distances depthes, soundings, flouds and ebbes, with the markes for the entringes of sundry harboroughs bothe of England, Fraunce, Spaine, Ireland, Flaunders and the sounds of Denmark, with other necessary rules of common nauigation. Translated out of Dutch into English by Robert Norman hydrographer*, London: Edward Allde, 1587

Translator: Robert Norman

Copy Consulted: EEBO (Huntington)

Bibliographical Source: STC 21546

——, *The safegarde of saylers, or great rutter. Contayning the courses, distances, deapths, soundings, flouds and ebbes, with the markes for the entring of sundry harboroughs both of England, Fraunce, Spaine, Ireland, Flaunders, and the sounds of Denmarke, with other necessar rules, of common nauigation. Translated out of Dutche into Englishe by Robert Norman hydrogropher*, London: Edward Allde, 1590

Translator: Robert Norman

Copy Consulted: EEBO (Dulwich)

Bibliographical Source: STC 21546.5

——, *The safegarde of saylers, or great rutter. Contayning the courses, dystances, deapths, soundings, flouds and ebbes, with the marks for the entring of sundry harboroughs both of England, Fraunce, Spaine, Ireland, Flaunders, and the Soundes of Denmarke, with other necessarie rules of common nauigation. Translated out of Dutch into English [sic] by Robert Norman hydrogropher [sic]*, London: Edward Allde, 1590

Translator: Robert Norman

Copies Consulted: EEBO (BL); BL G.7311.(3.)

Bibliographical Source: STC 21547

——, *The safegard of saylers, or, great rutter: containing the courses, distances, deapths, soundings, flouds, and ebbes, with the marks for the entring of sundry harboroughs both of England, France, Spaine, Ireland, Flaunders, and the sounds of Denmarke, with other necessarie rules of common nauigation. Translated out of Dutch into English, by Robert Norman hydrogropher [sic]*, London: Adam Islip, 1600

Translator: Robert Norman

Copies Consulted: EEBO (BL); BL G.32.g.3.

Bibliographical Source: STC 21548

——, *The safegarde of saylers, or great rutter. Contayning the courses, distances, soundings, flouds and ebbes, with the marks for the entring of sundry harboroughs both of England, Fraunce, Spaine, Ireland, Flaunders, and the soundes of Denmarke, with other necessarie rules of common nauigation. Translated out of Dutch into English by Robert Norman hydrographer. And newly corrected and augmented by E.W.*, London: Edward Allde for Hugh Astley, 1605

Translator: Robert Norman

Copies Consulted: EEBO (BL); C.31.b.6

Bibliographical Source: STC 21549

——, *The safegard of saylers, or great rutter. Containing the courses, distances, sounds, flouds and ebbs, vvith the markes for the entring of sundrie harboroughs both of England, France, Spaine, Ireland, Flanders, and the sounds of Denmarke, with other necessarie rules of common nauigation. Translated out of Dutch into English, by Robert Norman, hydrographer. And newly corrected and augmented by E.W.* 1612, London: Edward Allde for John Tapp, 1612

Translator: Robert Norman

Copies Consulted: EEBO (Cambridge); BL 51.c.6; BL C.114.b.33.(2.)

Bibliographical Source: STC 21550

——, *The safegard of saylers, or Great rutter. Contayning the courses, distances, soundings, flouds and ebbes, with the markes for the entring of sundry harboroughs, both of England, France, Spaine, Ireland, Flaunders, and the sounds of Denmarke, with other necessary rules of common navigation. Translated out of Dutch into English, by Robert Norman, hydrographer*, London: B[ernard] A[lsop] and T[homas] F[awcet] for Joseph Hurlock, 1632

Translator: Robert Norman

Copies Consulted: /

Bibliographical Source: STC 21550.5

—, *The safegard of saylers: or Great rutter. Contayning the courses, distances, soundings, flouds and ebbes, with the markes for the entring of sundry harboroughs, both of England, France, Spaine, Ireland, Flaunders, and the sounds of Denmarke, with other necessary rules of common navigation. Translated out of Dutch into English, by Robert Norman, hydrographer*, London: B[ernard] A[lsop] and T[homas] F[awcett] for G. Hurlock, 1640

Translator: Robert Norman

Copies Consulted: EEBO (BL); BL 534.b.18.

Bibliographical Source: STC 21551

Willem Jansz Blaeu, *The light of navigation. Wherein are declared and lively pourtrayed, all the coasts and havens, of the VVest, North and East seas. Collected partly out of the books of the principall authors which have written of navigation, (as Lucas Iohnson VVaghenaer and divers others partly also out of manie other expert seafaring mens writings and verball declarations: corrected from manie faults, and enlarged with manie neue descriptions and cardes. Divided into tvvo bookes. Heerunto are added (beside an institution in the art of navigation) nevve tables of the declination o the sonne, according to Tycho Brahes observations, applied to the meridian of Amsterdam. Together with neue tables and instructions to teach men the right use of the North-starre, and other firme starres, profitable for all seafaring men. By William Iohnson*, Amsterdam: William Johnson [Blaeu], 1612

Translator: ?

Copies Consulted: EEBO (BL); BL Maps C.8.a.1.

Bibliographical Source: STC 3110

—, *The light of navigation vwherein are declared and lively pourtrayed all the coasts and hauens, of the vvest, north and east seas : collected partly out of the books of the principall authors which haue written of navigation (as Lucas Iohnson Waghenaer and divers others) partly also out of a manie other expert seafaring mens writings and verball declarations : corrected from manie faults, and enlarged with manie neue descriptions and cardes : divided into two books : heereunto are added (beside an institution in the art of navigation) new tables of the declination of the sonne, according to Tycho Brahes observations, applied to the meridian of Amsterdam : together with neue tables and instructions to teach men the right use of the North Starre, and other firme starres, profitable for all seafaring men / by William Iohnson*, Amsterdam: John Johnson, 1620

Translator: ?

Copies Consulted: EEBO (Trinity College, Cambridge); BL Maps C.8.a.2.

Bibliographical Source: STC 3111

—, *The light of nauigation. Wherein are declared and liuely pourtrayed all the coasts and hauens of the West, North and East seas. Collected partly out of the books of the principall authors which haue written of navigation (as of Lucas Iohnson Waghenaer, and divers others) partly also out of many other expert seafaring mens writings & verbal declarations: corrected of many faults, & enlarged with many new descriptions and cardes. Divided into tvvo bookes. Hereunto are added (beside an*

institution in the art of navigation) new tables of the declination of the sunne, according to Tycho Brahes observations, applied to the meridian of Amsterdam. Together with new tables and instructions to teach men the right use of the North starre, and other fixed starres, profitable for all seafaring men. By William Iohnson, Amsterdam: William Johnson [Blaeu], 1622

Translator: ?

Copies Consulted: EEBO (Folger); BL Maps C.8.a.3.

Bibliographical Source: STC 3112

——, *The light of navigation. Wherein are declared and lively pourtrayed all the coasts and havens, of the west, north and east seas. Collected partly out of the books of the principall authors which haue written of navigation (as Lucas Iohnson Waghenaeer and divers others) partly also out of manie other expert seafaring mens writings and verball declarations corrected from manie faults, and enlarged with manie newe descriptions and cardes. Divided into two books. Heerevnto are added (beside an institvion in the art of navigation) new tables of the declination of th sonne, according to Tycho Brahes observations, applied to the meridian of Amsterdam. Together with newe tables and instructions to teach men the right use of the north starre, and other firme starres, profitable for all seafaring men. By William Iohnson, Amsterdam: John Johnson, 1622*

Translator: ?

Copy Consulted: BL Maps C.8.a.4.

Bibliographical Source: STC 3112.5

——, *The sea-mirroure containing, a briefe instruction in the art of navigation; and a description of the seas and coasts of the easterne, northerne, and vvesterne navigation; collected and compiled together out of the discoveries of many skilfull and expert seamen, by Willia Iohnson Blaeuw; and translated out of Dutch into English, by Richard Hynmers, Amsterdam: William Johnson Blaeu, 1625*

Translator: Richard Hynmers

Copies Consulted: EEBO (Huntington); BL Maps C.8.a.5.

Bibliographical Source: STC 3113

——, *The sea-mirrovr containing a briefe instrvction in the art of navigation; and a description of the seas and coasts of the easterne, northerne, and western navigation; collected and compiled together out of the discoveries of many skilfull and expert seamen, by William Iohnson Blaeu, and translated out of Dutch into English, By Richard Hynmers, Amsterdam: William Johnson [Blaeu], 1635*

Translator: Richard Hynmers

Copies Consulted: /

Bibliographical Source: STC 3113.3

——, *The sea-mirroure containing, a briefe ...*, Amsterdam: sold by W. Lugger, 1640

Translator: ?

Copies Consulted: /

Bibliographical Source: STC 3113.7

Giovanni Botero, *The trauellers breuiat, or, An historicall description of the most famous kingdomes in the world: relating their situations, amnners, customes, ciuill gouernment, and other memorable matters. Translated into English*, London: Edm. Bollifant for John Jaggard, 1601

Translator: Robert Johnson

Copy Consulted: EEBO (Harvard)

Bibliographical Source: STC 3398

——, *The vvorlde, or an historicall description of the most famous kingdomes and common-weales therein. Relating their scituations, manners, customes, ciuill gouernment, and other memorable matters. Translated into English, and enlarged*, London: Edm. Bollifant for John Jaggard, 1601

Translator: Robert Johnson

Copy Consulted: EEBO (Huntington)

Bibliographical Source: STC 3399

——, *An historicall description of the most famous kingdomes and common-weales in the worlde. Relating their scituations, manners, customes, ciuill gouernment, and other memorable matters. Translated into English, and enlarged, with an addition of the relation of the states o Saxony, Geneua, Hungary and Spaine; in no language euer before imprinted*, London: [R. Barker for] John Jaggard, 1603

Translator: Robert Johnson

Copy Consulted: EEBO (Huntington)

Bibliographical Source: STC 3400

——, *Relations, of the most famous kingdoms and common-weales thorough the world. Discoursing of their scituations, manners, customes, strengthes and pollicies. Translated into English and enlarged, with an addition of the estates of Saxony, Geneua, Hungary, and the East Indies in any language neuer before imprinted*, London: [William Jaggard for] John Jaggard, 1608

Translator: Robert Johnson

Copy Consulted: EEBO (BL)

Bibliographical Source: STC 3401

——, *Relations, of the most famous kingdoms and common-weales thorough the world. Discoursing of their scituations, manners, customes, strengthes and pollicies. Translated into English and enlarged, with an addition of the estates of Venice, Saxony, Geneua, Hungary, and the East-Indies, in any language neuer before imprinted*, London: [William Jaggard for] John Jaggard, 1611

Translator: Robert Johnson

Copy Consulted: EEBO (Huntington)

Bibliographical Source: STC 3402

——, *Relations, of the most famous kingdoms and commonweales thorough the world. Discoursing of their scituations, manners, customes, strengths, greatnesse, and policies. Enlarged, according to moderne obseruation*, London: [Adam Islip for] John Jaggard, 1616

Translator: Robert Johnson
 Copy Consulted: EEBO (Cambridge)
 Bibliographical Source: STC 3403

——, *Relations of the most famous kingdomes and common-wealths thorowout the world: discoursing of their situations, religions, languages, manners, customes, strengths, greatnesse, and policies. Translated out of the best Italian impression of Boterus. And since the last editio by R.I. now once againe enlarged according to moderne observation; with addition of new estates and countries. Wherein many of the oversights both of the author and translator, are amended. And unto which, a mappe of the whole world, with a table of the countries, are now newly added*, London: John Haviland for John Partridge, 1630

Translator: Robert Johnson
 Copy Consulted: EEBO (Cambridge)
 Bibliographical Source: STC 3404

Jacques Cartier, *A shorte and briefe narration of the two nauigations and discoveries to the northweast partes called Newe Fraunce: first translated out of French into Italian, by that famous learned man Gio: Bapt: Ramutius, and now turned into English by Iohn Florio; worthy the reading of all venturers, trauellers, and discoverers* (London: Henry Bynneman, 1580)

Translator: John Florio
 Copies Consulted: EEBO (University of Michigan); BL G.6491
 Bibliographical Source: STC 4699

Jacob Aerts Colom, *The fierie sea-columne, wherein are shewed the seas and seacoasts of the northern, eastern and western navigation, manifestly inlightened, & the failings and mistakes of the former light or sea-mirrou amended. Gathered from the experience of expert sea-men, & written by Iacob Columne. Here unto is also annexed a breefe instruction in the art of navigation; together with new tables of declination, and an almanach for 20 yeares following. With the privilege of the High and Mighty Lords, the States General, for twelve yeares*, Amsterdam: Jacob Colom, 1633

Translator: ?
 Copies Consulted: /
 Bibliographical Source: STC 5575.2

——, *The fierie sea-columne wherein are shewed the seas and seacoasts of the northern, eastern and western navigation, [with] the failings of the Sea-mirrou amended*, Amsterdam: Jacob Colom, 1637

Translator: ?
 Copies Consulted: /
 Bibliographical Source: STC 5575.3

——, *The fierie sea-columne, wherin are shewed the seas, the sea-coasts of the northern, eastern, and western navigation, manifestly inlightened, and the failings and mistakes of the former licht [sic] or sea-mirrou amended. Gathered from the*

experience of expert sea-men, and written by Iacob Columne. Here unto is also annexed a breefe instruction in the art of navigation; together with new tables of declination, and an almanach for sixteene yeares following. The third edition. With the previlege of the High and Mighty Lords, the States Generall, for twelve yeares, Amsterdam: Jacob Colom, 1640

Translator: ?

Copies Consulted: /

Bibliographical Source: STC 5575.5

——, *The fierie sea-columne, wherin are shewed the seas, the sea-coasts of the northern, eastern, and western navigation, manifestly inlightened, and the failings and mistakes of the former light or sea-mirroure amended. Gathered from the experiences of expert sea-men, and written by Iacob Columne. Here unto is also annexed a breefe instruction in the art of navigation; together with new tables of declination, and an almanach for sixteene yeares following, Amsterdam: Jacob Colom, 1640*

Translator: ?

Copies Consulted: /

Bibliographical Source: STC 5575.7

Martin Cortés, *The Arte of Nauigation, Conteynyng a compendious description of the Sphere, with the makynge of certen Instrumentes and Rules for Nauigations: and exemplified by manye Demonstrations. Wrytten in the Spanyshe tongue by Martin Curtes, And directed to the Emperour Charles the fyfte. Translated out of Spanyshe into Englyshe by Richard Eden. 1561* (London: Richard Jugge, 1561)

Translator: Richard Eden

Copies consulted: BL G.7310.; BOD Tanner 235; EEBO (N. Y. Public Library)

Bibliographical source: STC, 5798

——, *The arte of Nauigation, Conteyning a compendious description of the Sphere, with the making of certayne Instrumentes and Rules for Nauigations: and exemplified by many Demonstrations. Written in the Spanishe tongue by Martin Curtes, and directed to the Emperour Charles the fyft. Translated out of Spanyshe into Englyshe by Richarde Eden, and now newly corrected and amended in dyuers places. 1572* (London: Richard Jugge, 1572)

Translator: Richard Eden

Copies consulted: BL C.31.c.13.; EEBO (N. Y. Public Library)

Bibliographical source: STC, 5799

——, *The arte of nauigation, conteynyng a compendious description of the sphere, [etc.] ... Whereunto may be added at the wyl of the byer, another very fruitfull and necessarie booke of nauigation, tr. out of Latine by the sayde Eden* (London: Richard Jugge, 1576)

Translator: Richard Eden

Copy reported: StA TypBL.B76JC [not seen]

Bibliographical source: STC, 5799.5

—, *The Arte of Nauigation, Conteyning a compendious description of the Sphere, with the making of certayne Instrumentes and Rules for Nauigations, and exemplified by many Demonstrations. Written by Martin Curtes, Spaniarde. Englished out of Spanyshe by Richarde Eden, and now newly corrected and amended in diuers places. 1579. VVherevnto may be added at the wyl of the byer, another very fruitefull and necessary booke of Nauigaion, translated out of Latine by the sayde Eden* (London: Richard Jugge, 1579)

Translator: Richard Eden

Copies consulted: BOD Tanner 764 (3); EEBO (N. Y. Public Library)

Bibliographical source: STC, 5800

—, *The Arte of Nauigation, Conteining a compendious description of the Sphere, with the making of certayne Instrumentes and Rules for Nauigations, and exemplified by many Demonstrations. Written by Martin Cortes, Spaniarde. Englyshed out of Spanishe by Richarde Eden, and now newly corrected and amended in diuers places. 1584. VVhereunto may be added at the wyll of the byer, another very fruitefull and necessary booke of Nauigation, translated out of Latine by the sayd Eden* (London: widow of Richard Jugge, 1584)

Translator: Richard Eden

Copies consulted: BL C.132.i.56.; EEBO (Huntington)

Bibliographical source: STC, 5801

—, *The Arte of Nauigation. Conteyning a compendious description of the Sphere, with the making of certayne Instruments and Rules for Nauigations, and exemplified by many Demonstrations. Written by Martin Cortes Spanyardde. Englished out of Spanishe by Richard Eden, and now newly corrected and amended in diuers places* (London: Abel Jeffes, 1589)

Translator: Richard Eden

Copies consulted: BL C.31.c.17.; BOD Vet. A1 e.129; EEBO (Library of Congress)

Bibliographical source: STC, 5802

—, *The arte of navigation. Contayning a breife [sic] description of the Spheare, vvith the partes and Circles of the same: as also the making and vse of certaine Instruments. Very necessarie for all sortes of Sea-men to vnderstand. First written in Spanish by Martin Curtis, and translated into English by Richard Eden: and lastly corrected and augmented, with a Regiment or Table of declination, and diuers other necessary tables and rules of common Nauigation. Calculated (this yeare 1596. being leap yeare) by I.T.* (London: Edward Alde, 1596)

Translator: Richard Eden

Copies consulted: BL G.7311.(2.); BOD Ashm. 319; EEBO (Huntington)

Bibliographical source: STC, 5803

—, *The arte of nauigation. First written in the Spanish tongue by that excellent mariner and mathematician of these times. Martine CurtIs [sic]. From thence translated into English by Richard Edeu [sic]: and now newly corrected and inlarged, with many necessarie tables, rules, and instructions, for the more easie attaining to the knowledge of nauigation: by Iohn Tapp* (London: [John Windet], 1609)

Translator: Richard Eden
 Copy consulted: BL 533.f.29.
 Bibliographical source: STC 5804

——, *The arte of navigation. First, written in the Spanish tongue by that Excellent Mariner and Mathematician of these times, Martine Curtis. From thence Translated into English by Richard Eden: And now newly corrected and enlarged, with many necessarie Tables, Rules, and Instructions, for the more easie attaining to the knowledge of Nauigation, by Iohn Tapp* (London: William Stansby, 1615)

Translator: Richard Eden
 Copies consulted: BL C.114.b.33.(1.); EEBO (University of Edinburgh)
 Bibliographical source: STC 5805

——, *The art of navigation. First, written in the Spanish Tongue by that Excellent Mariner and Mathematician of these times, Martine Cvrtis. From thence Translated into English by Richard Eden: And now newly Corrected and enlarged with many necessary Tables, Rules, and Instructions, for the more easie attaining to the knowledge of Nauigation. By Iohn Tap* (London: Alsop & Fawcet, 1630)

Translator: Richard Eden
 Copies consulted: BL RB.23.a.10742.(2.); EEBO (BL)
 Bibliographical source: STC 5805.5

Bernardino de Escalante, *A discourse of the nauigation which the Portugales doe make to the realmes and prouinces of the east partes of the worlde, and of the knowledge that growes by them of the great thinges, which are in the dominions of China. Written by Barnardine of Escalanta, of the realm of Galisia priest. Translated out of Spanish into English, by Iohn Frampton*, London: Thomas Dawson, 1579

Translator: John Frampton
 Copy Consulted: EEBO (Huntington); BL C.21.b.19.; BL C.32.f.35.
 Bibliographical Source: STC 10529

[Antonio de Espejo], *Nevv Mexico. Otherwise, The voiage of Anthony of Espeio, who in the yeare 1583. with his company, discouered a lande of 15. prouinces, replenished with townes and villages, with houses of 4. or 5. stories height, it lieth northward, and some suppose that the same way men may by places inhabited go to the lande tearmed De Labrador. Translated out of the Spanish copie printed first at Madreel, 1586, and afterward at Paris, in the same yeare*, London: [Thomas East] for Thomas Cadman, [1587]

Translator: A. F.
 Copy Consulted: EEBO (Huntington)
 Bibliographical Source: STC 18487

Martín Fernández de Enciso, *A briefe description of the portes, creekes, bayes, and hauens, of the Weast India: translated out of the Castlin tongue by I.F. The originall whereof was directed to the mightie Prince Don Charles, King of Castile, &c*, London: Henry Bynneman, 1578

Translator: John Frampton

Copy Consulted: EEBO (Huntington)
Bibliographical Source: STC 10823

Cesare Federici, *The voyage and trauaile: of M. Cæsar Frederick, merchant of Venice, into the East India, the Indies, and beyond the Indies. Wherein are contained very pleasant and rare matters, with the customes and rites of those countries. Also, heerein are discovered the merchandises and commodities of those countreyes, aswell the aboundaunce of goulde and siluer, as spices, drugges, pearles, and other Jewelles. Written at sea in the Hercules of London: comming from Turkie, the 25. of March 1588. For the profitable instruction of merchants and all other trauellers, for their better direction and knowledge of those countreyes. Out of Italian, by T H*, London: Richard Jones and Edward White, 1588

Translator: Thomas Hickock

Copies Consulted: EEBO (Bodleian); BL G.6975.; BL B.671.(2.); BL 10058.aaa.35

Bibliographical Source: STC 10746

Henri de Feynes, *An exact and cvriovs svrvey of all the East Indies, euen to Canton, the chiefe cittie of China: all duly performed by land, by Monsieur de Monfart, the like whereof was neuer hetherto, brought to an end. VWherein also are described the huge dominions of the great Mogor, to whom that honorable knight, Sir Thomas Roe, was lately sent ambassador from the King. Newly translated out of the trauailers Manuscript* (London: Thomas Dawson for William Arundell, 1615)

Translator: Jean Loiseau de Tourval

Copy Consulted: EEBO (BL)

Bibliographical Source: STC 10840

Juan Gonzáles de Mendoza, *The historie of the great and mightie kingdome of China, and the situation thereof: together with the great riches, huge citties, politike gouernement, and rare inuentions in the same. Translated out of Spanish by R. Parke*, London: John Wolfe for Edward White, 1588

Translator: Robert Parke

Copies Consulted: EEBO (Huntington); BL G.6876.; BL 583.c.21.

Bibliographical Sources: STC 12003

Antonio Galvão, *The discoueries of the world from their first originall vnto the yeere of our Lord 1555. Briefly written in the Portugall tongue by Antonie Galvano, gouernour of Ternate, the chiefe island of the Malucos: corrected, quoted, and now published in English by Richard Hakluyt, sometimes student of Christ church in Oxford*, London: G. Bishop, 1601

Translator: Richard Hakluyt

Copies Consulted: EEBO (BL); BL C.32.g.12.(2.); BL G.6533.(2.)

Bibliographical Source: STC 11543

Pierre Garcie, [The rutter of ye see] ([London]: Robert Copland, 1528)

Translator: Robert Copland

Copies Consulted: /

Bibliographical Source: STC 11550.6

——, *The rutter of the see with the hauens / rodes / soundynges / kennynges / wyndes / floudes and ebbes daungers and costes of dyuers regions with the lawes of the yle of Auleron, & the iudgementes of ye see* ([London]: Thomas Petyt, 1536)

Translator: Robert Copland

Copy Consulted: EEBO (Lincoln's Inn)

Bibliographical Source: STC 11550.8

——, *The rutter of the sea, w[ith] the hauo[n]s, rodes, soundinges, kennynges, wyndes, floudes and ebbes, daungers and costes of dyuers regions wyth the lawes of the yle of auleron and the iudgementes of the sea. with [sic] a rutter of the northe added to the same* ([London: William Copland, [1555?]])

Translator: Robert Copland

Copies Consulted: /

Bibliographical Source: STC 11551

——, *The rutter of the see w[ith] the hauons, rodes soundinges, kenninges wyndes, flodes and ebbes, daungers [and] coostes of dyuers regio[n]s with ye lawes of the yele of Auleron, [and] the iudgementes of the see. With a rutter of the northe added to the same* ([London: John Walley, [1557]])

Translator: Robert Copland

Copies Consulted: /

Bibliographical Source: STC 11551.5

——, *The rutter of the see, with the hauons, rodes soundynges, kennynges wyndes flodes and ebbes, daungers and coostes of dyuers regyons with the lawes of the yele of Auleton, and the iudgementes of the see. With a rutter of the northe added to the same* ([London: Thomas Colwell, 1560?])

Translator: Robert Copland

Copies Consulted: EEBO (BL); BL c.21.a.51

Bibliographical Source: STC 11553

——, *The rutter of the sea with the hauens / rodes, soundings, kennings, windes, floods, and ebbes / daungers and coastes of diuers regions with the lawes of the Ile of Auleron, and ye iudgements of the sea. With a rutter of the north added to the same* ([London: William Copland, c.1567?])

Translator: Robert Copland

Copies Consulted: EEBO (BL); BL c.21.a.48

Bibliographical Source: STC 11553.3

——, *The rutter of the sea, wyth the hauens, roades, soundings, kennings, wyndes, flouds, and ebbes, daungers and coastes of diuers regions, with the lawes of the Ile of Auleron. And the iudgementes of the sea. With a rutter of the no[r]th added to the same* (London: John Awdely for Antony Kytson, [1573?])

Translator: Robert Copland

Copies Consulted: EEBO (BL); BL c.21.a.21

Bibliographical Source: STC 11554

[Gentleman of Elvas], *Virginia richly valued, by the description of the maine land of Florida, her next neighbour: out of the foure yeeres continuall trauell and discoverie, for aboue one thousand miles east and west, of Don Ferdinando de Soto, and sixe hundred able men in his companie. Wherin are truly obserued the riches and fertilitie of those parts, abounding with things necessarie, pleasant, and profitable for the life of man: with the natures and dispositions of the inhabitants. Written by a Portugall gentleman of Eluas, emploied in all the action, and translated out of Portugese by Richard Hakluyt*, London: Felix Kyngston for Matthew Lownes, 1609

Translator: Richard Hakluyt

Copies Consulted: EEBO (Huntington); BL 278.c.5.; BL G.7115.

Bibliographical Source: STC 22938

—, *The vvorthye and famous history, of the trauailes, discovery, & conquest, of that great continent of Terra Florida, being liuely paraleld, with that of our now inhabited Virginia. As also the comodities of the said country, with diuers excellent and rich mynes, of golde, siluer, and other mettals, &c. which cannot but giue us a great and exceeding hope of our Virginia, being so neere of one continent. Accomplished and effected, by that worthy Generall and captaine, Don Ferdinaudo [sic] de Soto, and six hundred of Spaniards his followers*, London: [F. Kingston] for Mathew Lownes, 1611

Translator: Richard Hakluyt

Copies Consulted: EEBO (BL); BL C.33.c.19.

Bibliographical Source: STC 22939

Antonio de Guevara, *A booke of the inuention of the art of nauigation, and of the greate trauelles whiche they passe that saile in Gallies: compiled by the famous Sir Anthonie of Gueuara, bishop of Mondonnedo, preacher, chronicler, and counseller vnto the Emperour Charles the fift. Dedicate by the said authour, vnto the famous Sir Frances de la Cobos, great comptroller of Leon, and counseller vnto the said Emperour Charles the fift. Wherein are touched most excellent antiquities, and notable aduertisements for such as saile in Gallies*, London: [H. Middleton] for Ralph Newberrie, 1578

Translator: Edward Hellowes

Copies Consulted: EEBO (BL); BL C.112.aa.13

Bibliographical Source: STC 12425

Cornelis de Houtman, *The description of a voyage made by certaine ships of Holland into the East Indies. VVith their aduentures and successe: together with the description of the countries, townes, and inhabitantes of the same: who set forth on the second of Aprill 1595. and returned on the 14. of August. 1597. Translated out of Dutch into English by W.P.*, London: [John Windet for] John Wolfe, 1598

Translator: William Phillip

Copies Consulted: EEBO (Huntington); BL 789.a.13.

Bibliographical Source: STC 15193

Bartolomé de Las Casas, *The Spanish colonie, or Briefe chronicle of the acts and gestes of the Spaniardes in the West Indies, called the newe world, for the space of xl.*

yeeres: written in the Castilian tongue by the reuerend Bishop Bartholomew de las Casas or Casaus, a friar of the order of S. Dominicke. And nowe first translated into english, by M.M.S, London: [Thomas Dawson for] William Brome, 1583

Translator: M. M. S.

Copies Consulted: EEBO (BL); BL G.7104

Bibliographical Source: STC 4739

René Goulaine de Laudonnière, A notable historie containing foure voyages made by certayne French captaynes vnto Florida: vvherein the great riches and fruitfulness of the countrey with the maners of the people hitherto concealed are brought to light, written all, sauing the last, by Monsieur Laudonniere, who remained there himselfe as the French Kings lieutenent a yere and a quarter: newly translated out of French into English by R.H. In the end is added a large table for the better finding out the principall matters contayned in this worke (London: Thomas Dawson, 1587)

Translator: Richard Hakluyt

Copy Consulted: EEBO (Huntington)

Bibliographical Source: STC 15316

Nicolas Le Challeux, A true and perfect description, of the last voyage or nauigation, attempted by Capitaine Iohn Rybaut, deputie and generall for the French men, into Terra Florida, this yeare past. 1565. Truely sette forth by those that returned from thence, wherein are contayned things as lame[n]table to heare as they haue bene cruelly executed (London: Henry Denham for Thomas Hacket, [1566])

Translator: Thomas Hacket

Copy Consulted: EEBO (BL)

Bibliographical Source: STC 15347

Marc Lescarbot, Nova Francia: or The description of that part of Nevv France, which is one continent with Virginia. Described in the three late voyages and plantation made by Monsieur de Monts, Monsieur du Pont-Grauë, and Monsieur de Poutrincourt, into the countries called by the French men La Cadie, lying to the southwest of Cape Breton. Together with an excellent seuerall treatie of all the commodities of the said countries, and maners of the naturall inhabitants of the same. Translated out of French into English by P.E. (London: George Bishop, 1609)

Translator: Pierre Erondelle

Copy Consulted: EEBO (BL)

Bibliographical Source: STC 15491

—, *Nova Francia or The description of that part of Nevv France, which is one continent with Virginia. Described in the three late voyages and plantation made by Monsieur de Monts, Monsieur du Pont-Grauë, and Monsieur de Poutrincourt, into the countries called by the French-men La Cadie, lying to the southwest of Cape Breton. Together with an excellent seuerall treatie of all the commodities of the said countries, and maners of the naturall inhabitants of the same. Translated out of French into English by P.E (London: Andrew Hebb, [?])*

Translator: Pierre Erondelle

Copy Consulted: EEBO (BL)

Bibliographical Source: STC 15492

Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *Iohn Huighen van Linschoten. his discours of voyages into ye Easte & West Indies. Deuided into foure bookes*, London: [John Windet for] John Wolfe, 1598

Translator: William Phillip

Copies Consulted: EEBO (Huntington); BL 212.d.9.; BL C.55.g.7.; BL W 7735

Bibliographical Source: STC 15691

Duarte Lopes, *A report of the kingdome of Congo, a region of Africa. And of the countries that border rounde about the same. 1. Wherein is also shewed, that the two zones torrida & frigida, are not onely habitable, but inhabited, and very temperate, contrary to the opinion of the old philosophers. 2. That the blacke colour which is in the skinnes of the Ethiopians and Negroes &c. proceedeth not from the sunne. 3. And that the Riuer Nilus springeth not out of the mountains of the Moone, as hath been heretofore beleueed: together with the true cause of the rising and increasing thereof. 4. Besides the description of diuers plants, fishes and beastes, that are found in those countries. Drawen out of the writings and discourses of Odoardo Lopez a Portingall, by Philippo Pigafetta. Translated out of Italian by Abraham Hartwell*, London: John Wolfe, 1597

Translator: Abraham Hartwell

Copies Consulted: EEBO (Huntington); BL 279.e.36.; BL 571.b.31.; BL 978.d.15.

Bibliographical Source: STC 16805

Fernao Lopes de Castanheda, *The first booke of the historie of the discoverie and conquest of the East Indias, enterprised by the Portingales, in their daungerous nauigations, in the time of King Don Iohn, the second of that name. VVhich historie conteineth much varietie of matter, very profitable for all nauigators, and not vnpleasaunt to the readers. Set foorth in the Portingale language, by Hernan Lopes de Castaneda. And now translated into English, by N.L. Gentleman*, London: Thomas East, 1582

Translator: Nicholas Lichefield (=Thomas Nicholls)

Copies Consulted: EEBO (Huntington); BL 582.e.4.; BL G.6950.; BL 147.a.23.; BL T39882; BL T39883

Bibliographical Source: STC 16806

Francisco López de Gómara, *The pleasant historie of the conquest of the VVeast India, now called new Spayne, atchieued by the vvorthy prince Hernando Cortes Marques of the valley of Huaxacac, most delectable to reade: translated out of the Spanishe tongue, by T.N. Anno. 1578*, London: Henry Bynneman, [1578]

Translator: Thomas Nicholls

Copy Consulted: EEBO (Huntington)

Bibliographical Source: STC 16807

——, *The pleasant historie of the conquest of the West India, now called new Spaine. Atchieued by the most worthie prince Hernando Cortes, Marques of the valley of*

Huaxacac, most delectable to reade. Translated out of the Spanish tongue, by T.N. Anno. 1578, London: Thomas Creede, 1596

Translator: Thomas Nicholls

Copy Consulted: EEBO (Bodleian)

Bibliographical Source: STC 16808

Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, *The decades of the newe worlde or west India, conteynyng the nauigations and conquestes of the Spanyardes, with the particular description of the moste ryche and large landes and ilandes lately founde in the west ocean perteyning to the inheritaunce of the kinges of Spayne. ... Written in the Latine tongue by Peter Martyr of Angleria, and translated into Englysshe by Rycharde Eden*, London: William Powell [for Richard Jugge], 1555.

Translator: Richard Eden

Copies Consulted: EEBO (Harvard); BL C.13.a.8.

Bibliographical Source: STC 645

—, *The decades of the newe worlde or west India, conteynyng the nauigations and conquestes of the Spanyardes, with the particular description of the moste ryche and large landes and ilandes lately founde in the west ocean perteyning to the inheritaunce of the kinges of Spayne. ... Wrytten in the Latine tounge by Peter Martyr of Angleria, and translated into Englysshe by Rycharde Eden*, London: William Powell [for William Seres], 1555

Translator: Richard Eden

Copy Consulted: EEBO (Huntington)

Bibliographical Source: STC 646

—, *The decades of the newe worlde or west India, conteynyng the nauigations and conquestes of the Spanyardes, with the particular description of the moste ryche and large landes and ilandes lately founde in the west ocean perteyning to the inheritaunce of the kinges of Spayne. ... Wrytten in the Latine tounge by Peter Martyr of Angleria, and translated into Englysshe by Rycharde Eden*, London: William Powell [for Edward Sutton], 1555

Translator: Richard Eden

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